

PEACE NEWS

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2d

RIGHT TO REFUSE WAR WORK OFFICIALLY UPHELD

Special to PEACE NEWS

A CASE in which a Leicester man was dismissed from his job for refusing to be transferred to work on shell production, in certain steel works in which he had been employed as an engineer, has produced an important verdict from the umpire.

The local court of referees refused the man's claim to unemployment benefit. Although the man received little sympathy from his own trade union, the case was taken to the higher court, and the decision of the umpire, made on the facts before him, was as follows:

My decision is that, after the above-named person had made a claim for unemployment benefit, the claim should have been allowed. The claimant refused to perform the employment in question because it involved work in connexion with munitions, and he conscientiously objected to undertake such work.

The foreman has stated that it would be useless for the claimant to have asked to be transferred to any other department. I hold that he had a genuine objection and just cause for leaving.

Previous Rulings

Although the man in question must remain anonymous, the details of the case can be vouched for by this newspaper.

This is not the first time that an umpire has upheld a man's right to refuse war work.

About a year ago an unemployed man of Attercliffe, Sheffield, on conscientious grounds refused work as a clerk because it was connected with armaments. The umpire, Sir Ernest Wingate Saul, being convinced of the man's sincerity, decided that his benefit must continue.

In December, 1923, the umpire reversed the decision of a court of referees, which had refused benefit to a man discharged by a firm of yacht builders for conscientious refusal to do work in connexion with a government aircraft contract.

PAGEANTRY PLANNED FOR GREAT PROCESSION THROUGH LONDON

Hyde Park Finale to P.P.U. Campaign

MILITARY displays are not being allowed to have a monopoly of pageantry. A colourful and impressive display is being planned for the final stage of the Peace Pledge Union's campaign in support of its Manifesto.

On Sunday, July 24, there will be a procession through London to a great demonstration in Hyde Park. With the aim of securing a certain coherence and sense of design—which most processions lack—everyone walking in the procession will be asked to carry a flag of either green or yellow.

As, in addition, there will be decorated cars and the banners of PPU groups, a fine display may be expected.

MEETINGS FROM CARLISLE TO LONDON

This procession will accompany a coach containing picked members of the PPU, headed by Canon Stuart Morris, which will have travelled from Carlisle.

The coach will set out from Carlisle on Tuesday week, and meetings will be held in villages on its route. Each evening a large public meeting will be held in the

town where the coach is remaining for the night.

All along the route PPU members are now preparing for these meetings.

More about the Manifesto Campaign—page twelve.

CABINET TOLD—

“Conscription is Fundamentally Wrong”

The following statement has been sent by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends to all Cabinet Ministers:

We wish, as representatives of a Christian society, to declare our adherence to the principle of individual freedom and our conviction that all forms of conscription or compulsory registration and training of men and women for military purposes, whether in time of war or peace, are fundamentally wrong.

The statement was signed by F. E. Pollard, chairman of the committee.

British Concentration Camps

—AND RACIAL LAWS

Child Labour In Kenya

By Archdeacon W. E. OWEN

IN November, 1937, the Kenya Legislative Council passed a Bill, which had been before it since July, called the Employment of Servants Ordinance.

In the Ordinance the word “servant” means natives who sell their labour, whether skilled or unskilled. It is a racial law discriminating between African natives and non-natives, and, as such, contains provisions which would not be tolerated in laws applying to Europeans.

One set of provisions is known by the name of “penal sanctions.” They consist of penalties which may be imposed on workers for certain types of offences, and are unknown in civilized countries.

For these “offences” the worker may be fined up to one half of his month's wages, or in default be imprisoned for one month. Eight types of conduct are enumerated which constitute the offences, of which the following is a sample:

absence without leave or other lawful cause from his employer's premises or other place proper and appointed for the performance of his work.

WHAT “DESERTION” MEANS

Under other legislation every male worker has to carry on his person a document (locally known as a kipandi), which bears his finger-prints, and details of his tribe, clan, and family. The document is ruled in columns with spaces for his employer's name, the wage-rate, and other items.

If the worker leaves the work without getting his employer to sign him off in the final column, he is a deserter and guilty of a criminal offence.

Under this racial legislation some 4,500 Africans were punished in 1936 (see Report of Kenya Native Affairs in the Colonial Office library), and since the time when records began to be kept, about eighteen years ago, some 60,000 Africans have been imprisoned in gaols or concentration camps or otherwise punished.

“RECALLS SERFDOM OR SLAVERY”

The document issued by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, in preparation for its conference concluded at Geneva last month, says (on page 174) concerning penal sanctions that “their application to contracts of employment in particular is repugnant to modern legal

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Public Affairs COMMENTARY

by

“Vigilant”

POWER POLITICS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN; Alexandretta

TURKEY and France have reached a final agreement on the control of the Sanjak of Alexandretta and Antioch. It has been a long story which at moments reached dangerous tensions.

The Sanjak was part of the Syrian mandate given to France under the Peace Treaties. When, in September, 1936, France relinquished her mandate in favour of Syrian independence, on a similar basis to the British relinquishment of the Iraq mandate, Turkey became deeply concerned over the possible fate of the large Turkish population in the Sanjak which adjoins her frontier.

Alexandretta and Antioch have seen hideous racial massacres, especially that of the Armenians under the old Turkish rule, and the Arabs have shown no friendly disposition toward the Turks. In January, 1937, the dispute between France and Turkey reached a point where Turkish troops were concentrated on the border. The Council of the League of Nations persuaded France and Turkey to reach a compromise solution whereby the Sanjak became independent for internal affairs and Turkish became one of the official languages.

The present agreement has been reached independently of the League of Nations and dispenses with the elections which the League had authorized. It authorizes Turkish troops to share with the French troops the work of maintaining law and order. The agreement is another great diplomatic triumph for the Turks.

The whole question is, however, riddled with the issue of power politics in the Mediterranean. The comprehensive treaty of friendship between France and Turkey, when it comes to be formally signed, will bring Turkey into the circle of the Anglo-French Entente.

Britain has already done her bit in the munitions agreement with Turkey.

SPAIN: Bombing of Ships

GENERAL Franco has replied to the British protests against the bombing of ships in Spanish ports.

He maintains that Spanish Government ports are legitimate military objectives but denies that there has been any discrimination against ships flying the British flag. Franco makes the proposal of keeping one port safe for ordinary merchandise traffic but he includes as contraband articles which the Non-Intervention Committee do not list as contraband.

With Spanish Government territory divided, one safety port does not seem to meet the conditions. Further, the acceptance of such a scheme involves, by implication, the recognition of a blockade of Spanish ports.

On the main point, however, Franco and

(Continued on Back Page).

CHILD LABOUR IN KENYA

(continued from page 1, col. 4)

conceptions." And, on page 197, the critics of penal sanctions say that

the interests which penal sanctions are intended to protect and which are, usually wrongly, identified with the interests of the community or of the native peoples, by no means justify a system which recalls serfdom or slavery.

In Kenya penal sanctions arose because, when we started to industrialize the people, they had never been wage-earners but free peasants cultivating their own land, and we had to force them to break up their tribal mode of life and compel them to become wage-earners.

We had two problems to solve: firstly, how to make them leave their homes for the labour lines; secondly, how to keep them in the lines when we got them there. Hence penal sanctions.

Some of the centres of industry were hundreds of miles from the homes of the peasants. Even then, some of them would try to run away.

Now, of course, we have so managed things that our compulsion upon the peasant is more refined, but it is still largely compulsion, and so, it is argued, penal sanctions are still needed.

CHILDREN TAKEN FROM HOME TO WORK

The Ordinance which we are considering contains, also, a section on Juveniles. Paragraph 28 (3) (b) reads: "no juvenile who appears to be below the age of ten years shall be allowed to enter into a contract of service."

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on June 22, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said:

The position is that, except for certain forms of employment in the Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Ordinance, 1933, there has not hitherto been any overriding minimum, which has now for the first time been prescribed in the Employment of Servants Ordinance.

The work given to children of ten years is light work such as picking tea on the tea estates. The pay, according to the low standards of the East, is adequate. It can be up to three pence or four pence a day. Housing, food, and medical attention is also supplied.

But, when everything is said which can be said to soften criticism, the fact remains that these children of ten years are taken far from their homes, sometimes hundreds of miles; they are congregated in labour lines, without the restraining influence of tribal morality; and any schooling they may be able to get (one estate has recently opened an elementary school of a good type) has to be acquired after a tiring day's work in the sun.

In their own homes they are shielded from drink. In my 34 years in East Africa I have never seen a child drunk in the Native Reserves. The Kenya Government claims that cases of drunkenness among these child labourers have been rare. Rarity is a comparative term. It could not be denied that children did in fact get drunk. (see *Hansard* of June 2).

During the debate on the Colonial Office Vote on June 14 one speaker asked, "Has this mighty Empire really sunk so low that it has to depend for its well-being upon the employment of black boys and girls—of nine and ten?"

LABOUR INQUIRY NEEDED

Closing the debate, the Secretary of State announced that the Governor of Kenya was appointing a local committee to

review and report upon the question of child labour in Kenya, particularly as regards the minimum age and the application of penal sanctions in the enforcement of contracts entered into by juveniles.

Commenting on the situation in an editorial of June 23, the *Manchester Guardian* said: "It is doubly unjust that they (penal sanctions) should apply in the cases of children who cannot be held responsible for the contracts made for them." The British Empire is the only colonial Power in Africa which has sanctioned child contract labour at the age of ten years. It is a reproach to us.

Many of us with long experience in East Africa feel that the time is overdue for an imperial commission to investigate and report upon the many serious labour problems, of which child labour is only one, which we have created by our policy of forcing the African peasants, adults and children, to become industrialized. Must we wait for rioting, as in Jamaica, to break out: before we act?

Parliamentary Notes

PARLIAMENT v. WAR OFFICE :: BURDEN OF BATTLESHIPS :: LABOUR BACKS PACT WITH DICTATOR

WE can all take encouragement from the Parliamentary disclosures in what has come to be known as the Sandys case. The road down hill to militarism has proved, for this country during the last few months, very steep. But apparently Parliament still exerts some braking power on the wheels.

Mr. Hore-Belisha, the downward momentum notwithstanding, could not drive against the decision of the Committee of Privileges.

Mr. Sandys received from the House of Commons, in spite of the various explanations of the War Office and the Attorney General, the right of unfettered inquiry.

A Select Committee was appointed to investigate, among other things, whether Mr. Sandys ought to be required to give such information as he had declined to give to the War Office. Mr. Sandys claimed not only the usual Parliamentary right to question the War Office, but what is equally important, if the power of Parliament over the Executive is to be safeguarded, the right to tell the War Office to mind its own business when it seeks to question the Parliamentary questioner.

The War Office was not having this. Mr. Sandys, who, like so many other members on the Conservative benches, is an officer of the forces, was ordered to appear in uniform before a Military Court of Inquiry to give evidence.

The "in uniform" was a delightful military flourish. It was as though the Sergeant Major was bawling "shun" in the ear of the Mother of Parliaments herself.

So the Committee of Privileges said, "Nay," and the Prime Minister announced the "nay" to an astonished, though gratified, House. And the Army Council gave instructions that its Court of Inquiry should stand adjourned till the Select Committee of the House of Commons had had its say.

So that was that; and a good deal, too. There's still hope for a functioning democracy as long as the military can be kept in their place.

Mr. Sandys neatly scored a bull's-eye with his Parliamentary rifle but there is no matter of any great moment in that.

Mr. Sandys only discovered what most of us have all along known—that the air-defences (or that small part of them in which Mr. Sandys interested himself) are totally inadequate for any useful purpose.

Mr. Sandys, however, discovered something which Mr. Hore-Belisha did not want him to discover. The watchful father-in-law, Mr. Churchill, felt himself fully justified in his own criticisms.

The House had a lovely row about it all. As I've said before in these notes, the House dearly loves a row. "But what they fought each other for, I couldn't well make out."

For the Official Secrets Act, that dangerous weapon always pointing at the heart of democratic procedure, the too readily summoned aid of cabinets and the Services in their efforts to stifle Parliamentary criticism, seems to have suffered no weakening of its influence. The Select Committee received no instruction to report on its consequences.

This precious Act, said Mr. Churchill, "was devised to protect the nation," about which we may have our doubts. But he was on much surer ground when he went on to suggest that it had been "used as a shelter by Ministers who had a personal interest in concealing the truth."

Battleship Burden

Mr. Duff Cooper's was an appalling announcement when he told the House of Commons that Britain, the United States, and France had agreed to fix 45,000 tons as the new limit for battleships.

Two British capital ships, he said, in this year's programme would carry sixteen-inch guns, and would not exceed a displacement of 40,000 tons.

The First Lord added the hope—some hope—that other naval Powers would behave themselves within the 40,000 figure

and thus not drive us to the full 45,000 in our bargain.

On the basis of such a statement, I should think the Opposition would have been well advised to have demanded the adjournment of the House to discuss, as the rule puts it, a matter of urgent public importance. There won't be much butter on bread in many homes when the new programme has to be paid for.

But nothing was done. Yet the changed naval policy will prove both urgent and important. A 40,000-ton ship here means at least one 40,000-ton ship abroad.

One such ship abroad with its sixteen-inch guns will render obsolete all the older ships in this country, even the *Hood*, which cost eight millions.

I can well imagine the sickening dread with which the Treasury heard of the new agreement. An entirely new front line of battleships will be called for—twelve or fifteen of them—costing over ten millions each.

The Treasury cannot be dead to the meaning of such a burden. On top of the air programme it is intolerable.

The House of Commons, however, grows more careless as "defence" squandermania increases. We are well away on the road, if not to Armageddon, at any rate to the day of reckoning.

Agreement with Turkey

The debate on the Anglo-Turkish (Armaments Credit) Agreement, on Monday, provided much food for cynical digestion.

It's a far cry back to Dr. Parker. Not that we shall ever want to hear again a popular divine calling on God in public "to damn the Sultan!"

But it is worth remembering that the feelings aroused by the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities are entirely similar to those now raised by the wickedness done

in Spain.

Nevertheless we have forgotten to damn the Sultan. Someday we shall forget to damn Franco and "Musso" too.

Dr. Dalton, leading for the Opposition, gave his blessing to Sir John Simon's proposal for a six million loan to Turkey. The proposal, said Dr. Dalton would "help Turkey to arm herself, and that might well be wise."

Would it be wise? Mr. Tom Johnston answered that later, speaking from Dr. Dalton's side. He thought this country would be lucky if some of the Turkish munitions were not used against us.

As Mr. Bellinger reminded the House, this was all part of a game in which, as in the last war, Britain and Germany were playing the game of devil pull baker, Turkey being the prize. And anything might happen.

Perhaps the most curious factor in Dr. Dalton's new-found enthusiasm for British money to buy Turkish guns is the Labour leader's complete forgetfulness that Turkey is one of the dictatorships.

Kemal has not been behind Hitler or Mussolini in some of those outrages against liberty, which have so much moved the ire of democratic Britain.

Even if Dr. Dalton never heard of Dr. Parker, and has lost all recollection of Suvla Bay, his anti-fascist complex could have been expected to assert itself.

It is a sign of grace that it did not. Indeed, Dr. Dalton preferred to ask the country "to look as if we were desiring the friendship" of such countries as Turkey.

This might be remembered when next Dr. Dalton's friends complain that George Lansbury, in meeting other dictators than Kemal, was shaking hands with murder.

James H. Hudson

Points from Answers

Non-Intervention Agreement.—Miss Wilkinson asked Mr. Butler on June 27 what guarantees he had received from the Italian Government that no war material would be sent to Spain following this agreement; and whether that applied to aeroplanes travelling from Italian territory to bomb Barcelona, returning immediately.

Mr. Butler replied: It is proposed that the undertaking already given under the Non-Intervention Agreement will be re-affirmed in the draft resolution which is now under examination by the Non-Intervention Committee. As regards the last part of the question, I am not aware that Italian aeroplanes have acted in this manner, but the undertakings to which I have referred would, in the opinion of the Government, undoubtedly cover such activities.

Truce in Spain.—Replying to Mr. Garro Jones on June 27, Mr. Butler said: As I have previously informed the House, the Government will gladly take any favourable opportunity to bring about a truce or the termination of the war in Spain, either alone or in conjunction with others, and with this object in view they keep constantly in touch with the Italian and other foreign Governments, whose cooperation might be helpful.

Anglo-Italian Agreement.—Replying to a question by Mr. Wedgwood Benn on June 29, Mr. Butler said that during the negotiation of the agreement no assurance was asked for as to the bombing of British ships by Italian aeroplanes.

Continuing Mr. Benn asked whether in view of the fact that Mr. Butler had told them on March 28 that 26 ships had been attacked, did he say that no reference was made to that fact in the conversations preliminary to the agreement?

Mr. Butler: "Yes, Sir."

Bombing of British Ships.—In reply to a question by Mr. Strauss on June 29, Mr. Butler said that the Government's representative on the Non-Intervention Committee did not consider that by bringing joint pressure to bear on the insurgent authorities to stop these bombings, the committee could "produce the results desired."

Arms to Japan.—Replying to Mr. Acland, Mr. Stanley said on June 24 that ten licences had been issued during the last twelve months for the export of war material to Japan. The total value of the arms, ammunition and military and naval stores registered as consigned from the United Kingdom to Japan from June 1, 1937 to May 30, 1938, was £108,246.

Japanese Occupation of Hainan.—In reply to a question by Captain Graham on June 27, Mr. Butler said that the British and French Governments had made it clear to

the Japanese Government that they regarded any occupation of Hainan by Japanese forces as "calculated to give rise to undesirable complications." Should such complications arise, he added, the two Governments would "no doubt afford each other such support as appeared to be warranted by the circumstances."

Italian and German Air Pilots.—Replying to Mr. Garro Jones, Sir Kingsley Wood said on June 29 that "Signor Mussolini is reported to have stated on March 30 that Italy was in a position to mass 20,000 to 30,000 pilots; and Herr Hitler is reported as having stated on February 20 that the National Socialist Flying Corps counted 3,000,000 members, of whom 50,000 were active."

France and Italy.—Replying to Mr. Henderson, Mr. Butler said on June 27:

The Government would welcome an improvement in the relations between France and Italy, such as might be expected to follow a resumption of the negotiations between the two countries. The Italian Government are fully aware of our views on this question. At the same time it will be appreciated that this is a matter which can only be settled between the parties concerned.

Four-Power Pact.—Replying to a question by Mr. Mander, on June 30, concerning any proposals for a four-power pact, Mr. Butler said: "The Government does not contemplate any proposals of the nature suggested by the honourable member."

Air Raid Precautions.—In reply to a question by Sir N. Grattan Doyle, Mr. Lloyd said on June 28 that there were still twenty out of 236 areas for which figures were not yet available. The 216 returns received, however, showed that just over 200,000 wardens were enrolled and nearly 50,000 were trained. A further 58,000 were under training. A minimum of 200,000 further enrolments were required.

Japanese Goods.—Replying to Sir J. Haslam, Mr. Stanley said on June 28 that the British Government was not in a position to discriminate between Japanese and United Kingdom goods in the territories to which the Congo Basin Treaties applied, or in Mandated territories.

Discrimination between Japanese goods and the goods of other foreign countries, he said, was not possible in other parts of the Colonial Empire so long as the provisions of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911 applied to them. This did not, however, prevent the imposition of duties or quotas as long as such measures were applied to all foreign countries.

DUCHESSE, Catherine St., W.C.2. Tem. 8243. Evenings, 8.30. Mats., Wed., Thurs., 2.30. (Smoking)

GLORIOUS MORNING

by Norman Macowan
THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT "THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

TONBRIDGE MEETING

The date of the Tonbridge open-air meeting, which was announced in "News from the Four Corners" last week as July 23, should be July 16. John Barclay is not the organizer, but is one of the speakers. For further details see "Diary of the Week."

Dutch Parents Revolt Against Militarism

WILL NOT ALLOW STATE TO CONSCRIPT SONS AT AGE OF 19

EVERY young man in Holland is liable to eleven months' military service on reaching his nineteenth year. Subsequently he has to perform further service in periods totalling forty days.

It is expected that in the near future more parents will follow the lead of those who have already refused to allow their sons to undertake military service before reaching the age of 21, when they are old enough to decide for themselves.

The moves that have led up to this resistance on the part of parents are described in the following dispatch from the secretary of the Dutch Committee of Information for Conscientious Objectors.

By J. H. FRANÇOIS

UNTIL recently, partly by means of a ballot system, and partly because they had brothers performing military service, a certain number of those liable for service have been able to get exemption.

Now that Holland has decided to take part in the militarization that is spreading like a disease even in democratic countries, such loopholes have been stopped. The number of those called up has been greatly increased and the period of service lengthened from five to eleven months.

Conscientious objection has been raised from time to time to this compulsory military service by a few young men. They refused to present themselves and were sometimes imprisoned (for a maximum of two years).

Then—sad irony—they were prohibited from bearing arms for a certain number of years, although their very refusal to do so had resulted in their being punished!

RIGHT OF APPEAL

As long ago as 1893 conscientious objection was propagated by Domela Nieuwenhuis. Since then cases of conscientious objection have appeared, too few to be of great influence but important as a phenomenon. After 1918, when a revolutionary wind blew over many countries, the possibility of regulating by law the right of refusal to enlist was discussed in the Dutch Parliament.

This led to the proclamation of the so-called Act of Conscientious Objection, by which young men who can convince a special committee of the sincerity of their scruples are instead allowed to do civil work for the benefit of the State. In that case, however, the service is for a longer period.

Since then 460 young men have appealed under the Act, and 360 had their objection acknowledged.

In addition, however, there is a small number of more radical young men, who refuse to be enlisted or to appeal under the Act. These are court-martialed.

PROTESTS BY PARENTS

In the last few years, parents, especially mothers, have raised their voices to claim that boys of eighteen or nineteen should not be asked to judge for themselves whether their consciences will allow them to take part in preparation for war, or whether they wish to make use of the Act for Conscientious Objection.

To secure a statement by the Court of Justice, in 1933 the parents of a young man made it impossible for him to comply with his calling-up notice by holding it back. They were fined.

Then they wrote to the Minister of Defence asking for a regulation to be inserted in the Act, allowing parents to secure postponement of the question of military service until their sons were 21 years old. They pointed out that, under the Civil Code, parental authority rested with the father, whom the children under age have to obey. But the Minister refused to take action.

CASES IN COURT

As a result of the action taken by these parents, not long ago about a hundred mothers informed the authorities that they had decided to act similarly. Their

(Continued in next col.)

Indian Revolutionary Turns to Non-Violence

MR. GANDHI ON A "FELLOW PILGRIM"

SARDAR Prithwisingh, a Rajput whose "dream was to work for armed revolution," recently decided, in consultation with his friends, to surrender himself to Mr. Gandhi and be guided by him.

He has been eluding the police since 1922, when he escaped from prison. Sardar Prithwisingh has again been taken in custody, and in a statement to the press Mr. Gandhi announces his intention of striving for his early discharge. The statement also declared:

So far as I can see, he (Sardar Prithwisingh) has not been guilty of anything of which he need be ashamed.

He tells me that he is endeavouring to examine the method of non-violence for the deliverance of the country. He says that many of his past revolutionary companions are thinking along these lines.

He has no other aim in life but the freedom of India. . . . I had no difficulty in taking his word at its face value and I should love to have men like him as fellow pilgrims in the pilgrimage of the temple of freedom.

Historic Library

For 68 years the Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, USA, has been collecting material on peace.

In 1930 Jane Addams presented a valuable accumulation of her own books, personal letters and MSS, and recently material in many languages from 25 countries was presented to the library. Some of the papers were printed prior to 1900, and one small booklet dealing with the *Inconsistency of Warfare and Christian Religion* goes back to 1649.

Several peace organizations have deposited their office records there; one gift alone consisted of letter files covering 22 years, numbering approximately 50,000 papers.

All this material is now being prepared for the free use of research workers and is housed in the fire-proof constructed Biddle Memorial Library.

(Continued from Col. 1)

idea was to secure the passing of a Compulsory Military Service Postponement Act.

Already the Court of Justice has had to deal with a few cases of parents who, on the ground of their parental authority granted them by law, either forbade their sons to submit to a military examination or held back the summons.

In one case defending counsel pointed to the strange inconsistency that, while the law punishes the man who subjects his children to "dangerous performances," it compels him to subject his son to military service, which, as a matter of course, subjects him to numerous "dangerous performances."

It is to be expected that in the very near future greater numbers will resist in this way, not only in the hope of getting a solution for their own case, but in the conviction that only thus will anything permanent be attained.

Seek to End Colour Bar

Thousands of Americans in all parts of the country have signed a petition for the elimination of colour and racial tests from Immigration and Naturalization Laws.

The campaign is being conducted by Mr. Frank D. Campbell, who declares that apologists for German racial laws point to the Oriental Exclusion Acts of America.

FEEDING 27,000 CHILDREN IN SPAIN

A considerable increase is reported in the number of children being fed in Spain by the Society of Friends.

Some 27,000 children are now being cared for—20,000 in Republican Spain and 7,000 in Nationalist territory.

The Friends Service Council, which is working in Spain jointly with the American Friends Service Committee, is also carrying on relief work among Spanish refugees in France.

Such work, however, is only one of many activities—in the Far East, Palestine, India, and Central Europe—described in a pamphlet, *Practical Pacifism in International Life*, published by the Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

The Second World Youth Congress to be held in the USA from August 15 to 24 is arousing immense interest throughout the world. Nearly 200 delegates will travel from Europe, including forty from Britain, twenty from France, and twenty from Czechoslovakia.

Twenty-nine delegates and observers will go from Rumania, and Spain, though in the midst of war, will send fifteen delegates.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PREPARING NEW DRIVE AGAINST JAPAN?

NOW that the American Congress has adjourned there is considerable likelihood of the US Government preparing public opinion for a "strong policy against aggressors" — which means challenging Japan.

Commenting on this possibility shortly before Congress adjourned, the *Washington Information Letter* published by the National Council for Prevention of War declared that after the adjournment "the Administration expects to have a clear field for action."

"This means that public opinion will be subjected to a barrage of education to gain support for the Administration policy of giving the executive a free hand and killing the Neutrality Law."

The *Washington Information Letter* also declared:

There has been a lull in the campaign for about two months, but this is over now. Recent pronouncements by Secretary of State Hull are definite indications of the trend of American policy. It means another "crack-down" on Japan.

In addition, it is likely that recent moves mark the opening of a campaign to revise the Neutrality Law by giving the President the right to discriminate in applying embargoes against belligerent nations.

MOVES IN EUROPE

The sale of \$25,000,000 in military aircraft to England and a French order of 100 planes indicate that the United States is willing to allow the development of an arms trade in large proportions if it supports the Anglo-French programme. In addition to the plane sale, American aircraft companies will send technical experts to train the British and French in production methods.

This is the same policy that was followed before our entry into the World War.

In the Far East, the Government has kept insisting on protection of American "rights" in the Chinese war zone. Secretary Hull has requested that American firms cease export of airplanes to Japan.

WHO WAS ST. PANCRAS?

He didn't build railway stations, of course.

He didn't even found building societies, though doubtless he would have been glad to do so, had the opportunity afforded. He was killed in Rome, by sundry believers in the argument of force, in the year 304, when he was fourteen.

That's all we can tell you about St. Pancras. But we can tell you a lot about St. Pancras Building Society, and if you will send us a postcard with your name and address we will very gladly do so.

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NEW BOOKS

AUSTRIA FROM THE LEFT

Austria Still Lives. By "Mitzi Hartmann." Michael Joseph. 10s. 6d.

Reviewed by R. H. Ward

THE trouble with those whose political concern is uncritically with "the workers" is that they come to be unable to regard anyone who is not born and bred a worker as a human being at all (and they generally forget in the process that they were born and bred and still remain bourgeois themselves).

Thus, for "Mitzi Hartmann," Schuschnigg was quite clearly No Good from the start because his father was a general, because he went to a school for the rich and aristocratic, and because he practised as a lawyer in Innsbruck. These facts perforce invalidate his sympathetic references to the working classes in his last speech to the Federal Diet in February of this year, and amply explain his resignation on March 11.

It may be that Schuschnigg ran away; and it may not. What is instructive about this book is its illustrations of the fact that, once you are in a certain frame of mind, it becomes impossible to impute any but the worst motives to those with whom you do not agree. It also becomes impossible to make judgments by an objective standard or to remain consistent.

Thus the writer of this book is put in some awkward positions. She is against Dollfuss because he is not with the workers in 1934 and appears to sanction the shelling of the Karl Marxhof; but she is with him when he is murdered, because Nazis murdered him. She is against Schuschnigg because he does not call upon the workers to resist Hitler; but she is with him because, again, he is deposed by the Nazis.

Similarly, once allow yourself to be dominated by a particular ideology and ordinary words lose their simple meanings. In this writer's view the workers should be "politically educated;" good; but in this writer's view "politically educated" means "given no chance of assimilating any but left-wing propaganda," and this is neither education nor political education; it is a form of totalitarianism.

It is an interesting psychological fact that aggressive propaganda in one direction will very probably have, on those who are still unbiased, the effect of sending their sympathies in the other direction. This book will hardly make Nazis of us; but it may cause us to question, as wish-fulfillment rather than fact, its writer's assertion that "the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people wished to resist to the end" the German invasion.

The Austrians are a spirited and courageous people; it is hard to believe that only lack of government to lead them prevented their resistance. We shall have to wait for a less superficial account of this moment of history, and one coming neither from the right nor from the left, before we shall know the real extent of Nazi sympathy in Austria in March, 1938.

AMERICAN MILITARISM

Fighting Fools. By James E. Edmonds. Appleton-Century. 10s. 6d.

There will be precious little "peace news" found in Brigadier-General Edmonds's mainly semi-specialist study of America's military history from the Revolution to 1938.

Of principal interest are his refreshingly frank attitude toward the whole business of war and the conclusion which, though he does not draw it, stands like a ghost in the background all the while.

His theme is that the United States is no more "peace-loving" than any other nation you may care to mention, and that its past record has been one of more than a century of "aggressive expansion." But in consequence of its hypocritical or perhaps merely stupid refusal to admit this, it has entered every one of its wars totally unprepared and been forced to pay the price of its slackness in blood and dollars.

Study the facts, says the author (here they are: Revolution, Indian Wars, 1812, Mexican Wars, Civil War, Spanish War, World War), accept the reality—and be prepared for next time. "Is that low-minded. Brutal?"

What of it? It's a brutal world."

There is something cleansing in his refusal to find aggression everywhere but at home; we could do with a bit of that in this country.

And what he says about war preparation is in essence true. If you intend to fight wars at all you should be prepared for them up to the hilt. Contrariwise, if you aren't ready to accept that state of war preparation, of living forevermore in a civilization directed toward militant ends, you should realize that the way of war is not for you.

No half measures, pleads the Brigadier-General, and in that at least we may be wholly with him.

GEOFFREY WEST

A LESSON THAT WAS NOT LEARN'T

Imperialism. A Study. By J. A. Hobson. George Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.

The amazing thing about this book is that the first edition was published in 1902, and the second in 1905. The third edition comes 33 years later.

Apart from an introduction and an appendix of up-to-date statistics, the volume is unchanged. Yet it reads as though the author had simply set about an unravelling and solution of the problems of today. While this is a tribute to the insight of the author, it is at the same time a depressing commentary on the intelligence of the public.

What misery and suffering could have been avoided if the lessons of this study had been thoroughly assimilated on its earlier publication. Every member of the PPU should have a copy of this work, for although the author denies that he is "arguing the case for an exclusively or even a mainly economic causation of modern wars," nevertheless he proves the enormous importance to be attached to economic factors.

More than this, however, he proves the fallacious nature of the beliefs held by those who support a policy of imperialism. Briefly the argument runs:

(a) Colonies are desired because they provide an outlet for the investment of surplus funds, acquired as the result of inequalities in the distribution of wealth;

(b) They thus benefit a section of capitalists who make such investments;

(c) The cost of maintaining an empire, which is borne by the whole community, is much greater than the gain of the small number of investors;

(d) An increasing proportion of the trade of our colonies tends to be done with foreign countries;

(e) Our trade with foreign countries tends to grow faster than our trade with the colonies (this is not true today);

(f) Our external trade bears a small and diminishing proportion to our internal industry and trade;

(g) "A completely socialist State which kept good books and presented regular balance sheets of expenditure and assets would soon discard imperialism; an intelligent *laissez-faire* democracy which gave duly proportionate weight in its policy to all economic interests alike would do the same."

The author also examines and rejects the contention that imperialism is in accord with our political ideal of democracy and self-government. He queries too, our justification of imperialism because of our civilizing mission, especially in the case of countries like India and China.

The account of the methods used to obtain native labour on colonial estates and in colonial mines, and the treatment of emigrant Indians and Chinese, should dispel all ideas of our "sense of responsibility for native peoples."

It is not to be assumed that the author advocates complete severance of relations with the undeveloped territories of the world. But he postulates that "interference . . . must justify itself by showing that it is acting for the real good of the subject race."

The work is cogent and incisive; free from humbug and sentimentality. May its lesson be quickly learnt.

STANLEY PRICE.

THROUGHOUT CENTRAL EUROPE

A Young Man Looks at Europe. By "Robert Young." Heinemann. 10s. 6d.

In this book we are taken for a trip start-

ing at Verdun, where nearly a million men lost their lives during the "War for Civilization" of 1914-1918, through Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria.

"Robert Young" is a pseudonym, and without being in the secret of his identity one cannot say anything about his background, but it is quite evident that he has an intimate knowledge of Europe and has set out to record what he has seen and heard without fear of prejudice.

The greatest value of the book is the fact that it is not filled with the author's own views, but faithfully records the widely varying views of the people he met. Only in the penultimate chapter does the author attempt to sum up the forces working for and against war, and the following extracts are worth quoting:—

We found excuses for civil war almost everywhere. There was no *raison d'être* for a war between nations. We discovered that there were at least three countries in Central Europe where a quarter of the population might be expected to revolt against a war brought about by the dictator who was leading the country. The Germans who fought in Verdun are not easily disposed to think of fighting on Douaumont again. The salutary effects of war are often forgotten, but the French and Germans who have visited Verdun will be the last to forget them.

The last chapter is an eye-witness account of the last days of Austria. It is interesting to note, in view of the reports of incipient revolt in Austria, that Mr. Young says,

Whatever they say afterward, it is unbelievable that the Germans will ever conquer this country. Opposition was ingrained in the majority of the people the moment they saw the German army coming in.

Is Austria going to make history by providing an example of successful passive resistance?

I hope this book will have a wide circulation. It should be read by everyone who wishes to have an unbiased account of what Europe is thinking. It confirms the view that poverty is the greatest danger and that "the problems of the age we live in will only be solved by those who are willing and intent to do without the evils which present civilization has inspired."

WILLIAM J. LYON

DEMOCRACY AND RACE

This Democracy. By Joseph Yahuda. Pitman. 5s.

Democracy is a word often used and seldom defined, and a book that set out to explain it would be welcomed, by pacifists in particular. In this small book Mr. Yahuda has attempted a definition and he is concerned ostensibly not with democracy as it rather precariously is, but with the democratic theory.

He begins with the individual and the conditions of his association with other individuals, shows how the ideas of responsibility and stewardship arose and were embodied in laws which themselves led to the society of today and to democratic government; he analyses the present method of democratic rule.

In a long chapter on war he puts forward a refutation of Sir Arthur Keith's well-known rectorial address at Aberdeen in 1931 (*The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization*) in which it was contended that permanent peace was neither possible nor desirable. Mr. Yahuda concludes with bouquets to the League of Nations and the British Empire.

There is much in all this of which a pacifist would approve, and Mr. Yahuda's aim "to confirm men and women in their love of liberty and of peace" is wholly good. His line of argument is, however, a dangerous one, for he is concerned less with the individual than with the race.

As the text of his book he quotes Disraeli's "All is race; there's no other truth," and goes on from there. Race preservation is his guiding principle, and, though it leads him in the main to safe conclusions, we find him at the last in favour of a sort of benevolent imperialism, and in favour of the League of Nations Covenant with Article 16. Mr. Yahuda is evidently another pacifist but . . .

The risk of this preoccupation with race is recognized by Viscount Cecil in his preface to the book, and even by the author himself. This is not surprising, for are we not daily reminded that "all is race" at this very moment in Hitler's Germany? Race preservation is not enough; take care of the individual and the race will take care of itself.

Mr. Yahuda's book is not easy reading, and despite the intention of detached inquiry gives the impression that all's well with British democracy. There is one chapter called "This Land of the Free."

Those who believe that England is still democratic and not trembling on the brink of fascism will find in *This Democracy* comforting words.

DENIS GODFREY

KNO WLEDGE AND THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

An Outline of Psychology. By H. Lyster Jameson. Completely revised by Eden and Cedar Paul and Edward Conze. "Plebs" Outline. 2s. 6d.

This little handbook is very simply written, but at the same time contains much solid material, and should be very useful indeed for study groups. It lays particular stress on the influence upon behaviour of factors which are not entirely subject to rational control—factors such as our instincts and our environment.

This stress is undoubtedly justified by modern psychology, but it is a pity that it should lead the author into confusions of a fundamentally "metaphysical" character.

In the concluding paragraph of the book, Dr. Jameson tells us that "such freedom as man may have can come only through knowledge." On the other hand, he attacks all conceptions of "absolute truth," and apparently admits no distinction between knowledge and illusion, which is not reducible to the distinction between states of mind which lead to the "right results," i.e., to freedom, and ones which do not.

His statement that "freedom can only come through knowledge," therefore, finally means nothing more than that "freedom can only come through that which leads to freedom"—no doubt a very true observation, but one which cannot be said to throw much light either on the nature of knowledge or on the road to freedom.

"The nature of knowledge," is, in fact, just what this book fails to discuss (well filled as it is with material on the part played by the instinctive and emotional factors in our life and thought); and this is surely no mean omission.

In the single paragraph headed "Knowledge" we are told that "the biological function or purpose of knowledge . . . is action." That is as may be, but knowledge is not the same as action; or if it is itself a form of action, it is not the same as other forms of action; and in either case its peculiar nature is not brought out.

Knowledge is also classified as an "associative process," but association can hardly produce knowledge unless there is something of the distinctive character of knowledge in the units associated—association may also produce a very strong and coherent mass of illusions, as Dr. Jameson surely knows very well.

This defect is a serious one if only because it takes away the practical bearing of all the important things that the author does say about the way in which human beings delude themselves.

What is the use of emancipating ourselves from all these "rationalizations" if it is not clear that we can ever find anything better? And what becomes then of our promised "freedom"? The trouble with pragmatism is that it is not practical.

ARTHUR N. PRIOR

ANSWERS TO CRITICS

The Economic Approach to Peace. By Percy W. Bartlett. Embassies of Reconciliation. 2d.

Mr. Bartlett's pamphlet should be found a useful short commentary on the Van Zeeland Report, and, therefore, on the PPU Manifesto. He is insistent that "even if some proposals [in the report] are open to criticism, the main recommendations based upon them clearly represent sound statesmanship."

Three particular forms of criticism are answered. To the protectionist's objection Mr. Bartlett points out that no sudden return to free trade is suggested and that the report has definite proposals for a transitional stage.

To the Left critic who is afraid that loans would be spent on armaments he replies that "militarist governments seem to have discovered ways of financing armaments and war almost indefinitely without obtaining loans from abroad." Thus economic restriction does not affect armaments but only those activities which might reduce the drive toward war. He concludes that the risks must be accepted. On the other hand he agrees that the paragraphs in the report about the development of colonial areas "do not reflect the most progressive thought on the subject." But he believes, from the tone of the suggestions, that constructive criticism would not be unwelcome.

A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

is written this week

by

THE WIFE OF A
BILLINGSGATE PORTER

IN most of the coffee shops round the market the upstairs rooms are turned into changing rooms. Round these rooms are cupboards, lockers, pegs, or boxes.

All the porters and workers in the market change from their outdoor clothes into old fishy ones for work. These old clothes, wet and slimy after the day's work, are left to dry out.

On Monday morning for just about ten minutes, you can see these men wearing stiff white smocks. For the rest of the week these same smocks are stiff, not with starch, but filth, mud, and slime.

The smocks are supplied and laundered by a company at 1s. 6d. a week. You can't wash them at home unless you use a yard broom.

*

THE weekends when my Walter can't afford to have his smock laundered at the market are our old cat's idea of heaven. Whisky (he's black and white) is pure Billingsgate; one of the finest breed of ratters in the world.

These cats are born in the cellars and are absolutely untamable. They never see the light of day. Food is thrown down to them and they show their gratitude by the head of dead rats each morning.

Different from these are about eight quite tame cats, almost pets. These wander at will all over the market, threading their way daintily through the traffic. If a two-hundred weight case is dropped almost on top of one he will look up, just as our cat looks at me, with an air of disdain.

It's only the Whisky treats like that. With Walter he is all purrs. The smell of fish goes right through our house so Whisky regards it as a home from home, otherwise he wouldn't stay.

No matter where Walter's smock is hidden, you will find Whisky snuggled in its fishy folds. With the market hat the same. All Saturday night he sleeps wrapped blissfully round the brim. Even when it has been well rubbed with smelly rancid fat (to preserve it) he still clings to it. He spends Monday licking the grease off his coat.

*

FISH-PORTERS would find it impossible to carry on their heads the enormous weight they do (fourteen stones of fish, three of ice, one of box) without the special sort of hats they wear.

These hats are made of leather, to fit the head, and they cost from thirty shillings to two pounds. They must fit exactly, for at the slightest slip the case of fish has to be "thrown." Failure to "throw" would cost at least a badly strained neck, at worst a broken one.

Being shaped like a soldier's tin helmet with a groove round the brim, all the ice-water and muck dripping from the fish-case runs from the groove instead of dripping down the face or neck, and the flat top steadies the case and helps to distribute the weight. The hats weigh about seven pounds.

No wonder Walter is getting bull-necked. Almost any time during the day you can hear the clanging of the ambulance about

the market. For the minor sort of injuries there is the Medical Mission, supported by the Billingsgate workers.

There are always two nurses in attendance, and a visiting doctor from Bart's. Any torn hands or cuts must be seen to at once, for they soon turn septic through nasty nails and splintered fish-cases.

*

IF at any time you happen to visit the market I would advise you to take the "chi-iking" you are sure to get from the porters, in the spirit it is given. All visitors get it, the only exception being the nuns, who are treated politely and kindly, their baskets being filled with fish, free, which they do not have to ask for.

The market is a glass-roofed building, with sixteen shops and between three and four hundred stalls or stalls. Most of the shops are commission-firms; only a very few firms own their own trawlers.

All the salesmen have dozens of telegrams from senders or owners, stating the amount of fish coming by rail or boat. The price fluctuates according to the demand and supply.

The buyers for large hotels and stores are always very early, the smaller customers coming later. Everyone is tearingly busy, but all the sales are made with a lot of banter and backchat on both sides.

Each buyer has his own stand outside the market where he parks his horse-van or lorry. Each stand holds about fifty vehicles.

The porters memorize these stands, which are known by such names as Jimmy on the Bridge, Mother Dick, Black Jim, Sailor, and scores of others.

*

MOST of the traffic is horse drawn, and when the horse jibs, as he often does, at his heavy load up the steep hill, men are always ready to push van and horse up to the top, the men laughing and shouting, the horse jibbing all the time.

This market is the only one where the down-and-outs can hope to earn a few coppers. They help with the cases on or off the vans, or by "shoving up" barrows at twopence a time. They sleep at one of the Salvation Army shelters—provided they have the eightpence for the night's "kip."

Billingsgate has slumped badly since the Government put a quota on foreign fish. Our fishermen cannot catch enough cheap fish to supply the need. On the days when no foreign fish is allowed in, prices are very high and business very slow.

Work is scarce and wages have dropped these last three months. The down-and-outs can't afford their "kip"; and the Relieving Officer has paid Walter and me a visit. One week Walter only earned nine shillings and was allowed seven in relief; next week he earned twelve and the committee lowered the relief to six. That's for Walter, myself, young Walter, and Joey.

Queer Origins of

THE WORDS
WE USE

9.—BOLSHEVIK

A bolshevik government is simply one that expresses the majority's will. At least, that is what the word means: whether it is correctly applied is another matter.

The Russian for "big" is bolshoi, and for "bigger" is bolshe, being made into the noun "majority" by adding -viki. It is often corrupted now to "bolshevist."

Schools for Peace
Education

THE failure of the countless efforts to end war by means of peace treaties is convincing proof that peace cannot be attained through talk about the elimination of war. It is not enough to make negative pacts and treaties outlawing war; the essential step is to instil into mankind an enduring peace consciousness.

Although peace has always been sought by human beings, it has not yet been realized, the reason being that the source from which peace on earth can spring has not yet been found.

This source can be discovered, but to find it, we need to make use of that which we may call a "peace compass" or in other words, biosophical thinking, which deals with the practice of ethical-social character qualities in our relationships with other human beings.

The practice of such qualities enables us to build true peace-mindedness. Where

By

Frederick Kettner

there is true peace of mind, there one has contacted the source of peace and one's life then necessarily expresses peace activities.

A definitely constructive step in the direction of promoting peace would be the establishment of schools for character and peace education. In such schools emphasis would be placed upon the ethical-social conception of peace, which recognizes the existence of a peace-loving disposition in human beings.

There is a political-militaristic and also an ethical-social phase of peace. The first kind arises from the negation of the higher nature in man, whereas the ethical-social, or biosophical, idea of peace begins with the affirmation of the higher nature in man.

Without the development of our innate ethical character, true world peace in its real sense is an impossibility. Men educated to think in terms of peace from early youth would be able to live and act accordingly.

We must learn to distinguish carefully between mere wishing for peace, which is founded on the emotions of fear and hope, and constructive working for peace, which is based upon character and mutual understanding—the expressions of man's higher nature.

FIRST of all, it is necessary to educate youth in the principles of world peace. Factual knowledge concerning war and peace treaties, as presented in the history of civilization, does not arouse the mind in a positive manner.

A real student of life must be able to improve his self-knowledge intuitively and integratively. Factual knowledge without intuitive self-understanding makes man the victim of unsound thinking and abnormal living.

Intuition and integration will have to be

used, therefore, in order to improve public opinion and safeguard the common good. This would help to arouse and to maintain an intelligent interest in peace throughout the world. In this way the ethical-social principles would be accepted and applied by more individuals, groups, and nations.

The desire to create schools for peace education will help us not only to understand that war deals with futile purposes and selfish acquisitive interests, but to see clearly that man, far from being only a political or national animal, is also a peace-student in the school of life, possessing noble and unselfish characteristics.

WHY should we not begin to overcome all the political, economic, national and religious egotism by making use of the light of peace education?

No doubt, we must understand politics and economics. In addition, however, we need students of peace who have a desire to play a constructive part in governmental affairs. Future statesmen must be educated in terms of peace tactics, just as statesmen today are educated in terms of war tactics.

In schools for peace such principles as the following would be guides toward the realization of peace.

1. The education of the emotional and mental natures of man so that not only the wish for peace, but also the idea of peace and the responsibility for maintaining it can be made more adequate in his mind.

2. The acceptance of the works of men like Leonardo da Vinci, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Balzac, Emerson, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Whitman, and other biosophers as fundamental text-books in the schools for peace.

3. The understanding that the practice of true peace-education can bring man the consciousness of world citizenship.

4. The education of Secretaries of Peace for the various governments who would understand how to sacrifice for the benefit of the whole world, and to make use of unselfish efforts instead of military force.

5. The creation of a world league of peace-loving men and women who have already overcome their national, religious, racial, and class prejudices.

In Academies of World Peace, based on the above principles, peace as a science would be studied just as the science of warfare is being studied today in military schools.

The establishment of schools for peace education is one of the best ways of doing away with the ever recurring threats of international intrigue and war, and creating world peace as an enduring reality.

THE MYSTERY OF
THE ANDROGYNE

THREE PAPERS ON THE THEORY
AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS
by

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CHILDREN and World Peace

THE child is undoubtedly the father of the man, but just what sort of a father he will turn out to be depends largely upon what he is taught when still a child.

Obviously the education of children represents the sum total of a generation's endeavour and, directly or indirectly, that must be the goal toward which all reformers strive.

I suppose a comparison of present-day methods with those of a hundred years ago (when children of six worked in the mines and schoolmasters were, in the main, morally and physically unfit) would fill one with a pleasant sense of progress. It ought to be remembered, however, that there has been considerable progress also in things appertaining to the explosive bomb, and to a system of power-politics which is likely to explode that bomb unless it be controlled.

There would seem to be little advantage in educating youths both intellectually and morally if, at the attainment of their own powers of reasoning, they are to be blown to pieces by very reason of our neglect in regard to telling them that the German is not the natural enemy of the Englishman.

In fact, it may be well concluded that international fellowship is deeply rooted in the moral sense and that education must be incomplete without it.

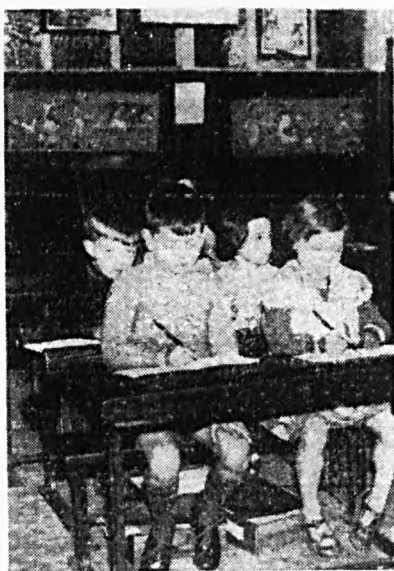
★

THERE are two ways in which we of the World War generation may serve those who have yet to awaken to the meaning of stranger killing stranger for the preservation of peace.

In the first place we can adjust our own minds by means of our imaginations. We can ask ourselves whether it be true that every German desires a repetition of the horrors of 1914-18. We can ask ourselves if Germans are bereft of the human instinct to live in peace and thus preserve whatever may be beautiful in their lives.

Not only, however, by drawing nearer to the understanding that foreign peoples have human hearts shall we serve our children. It is our task to infuse into the leaders of this country that same spirit of fellowship when we have found it for ourselves

"... a child learns to write at school and the elementary rules of composition largely determine its writing of the future ... only the elementary rules of international fellowship will determine the composition of the world twenty years hence."



It is our task to see that the bomb does not explode.

★

IN the second place we ought to tell children not so much what the press tells us as what our instincts tell us.

We ought to point not so much to mistakes (from which we ourselves are not immune) as to progress. Surely it is fitting that they should know of goodness rather than of ugliness, of the ideal rather than of the groping, halting way of the climbers. If we point out to them the ideal they will climb.

Let us clear our minds with regard to this ideal. Let us ask ourselves if it is to be simply a powerful nation at bay with her "enemies," or a powerful nation seeking always to remove the word "enemy" from its vocabulary through sacrifice based upon justice.

We have bathed far too long in our own righteousness and the story that is passed on to our children has been too often a story that finishes with the British Empire established and self-supporting. It is time that the story changed. It is time that we opened the eyes of those who will live to turn over the pages.

Perhaps I may be forgiven in using the obvious simile that a child learns to write at school, and that elementary rules of composition largely determine its writing of the future. In the same way only the elementary rules of international fellowship will determine the composition of the world twenty years hence.

Derek Neville

ELMORE JACKSON,
the Work Camps Sec-
retary of the American
Friends Service Com-
mittee,

describes

WORK CAMPS IN THE U.S.A.

IN the summer of 1934 student work camps first came to America. In late June of that year fifty university students and young professional people, brought together by the American Friends Service Committee (national Quaker organization), gathered in Westmoreland homesteads, in the coal area of western Pennsylvania.

They planned to spend the summer studying the problems besetting the soft coal industry, not so much through books and statistical reports—many had already done that—but rather, in so far as was possible during eight weeks of the summer, to study the coal problems by actual participation in the life of the coal community.

All the better that this was a new community where the group had the opportunity of watching new life come to a few of those who had previously known only the economic uncertainties of a declining industry.

Two Principal Objectives

The work camp set itself two principal objectives. The first was the winning of their way into the life of the homestead by assisting with various projects needed by the community.

The men, working seven and eight hours a day, put in the water system for the new homestead.

The women assisted in community canning and with recreational work. The men and women assumed joint responsibility for caring for their own living arrangements.

The second objective involved an active group search for the places within the crumbling structure of the soft coal industry where such a group could take hold to bring about non-violent reconstruction or reorganization of the industry, and bring rehabilitation to some of its victims.

In this realm the camp soon found itself in a position of community leadership. Superintendents and owners of coal mines were drawn in for evening discussions. Union officials and government agents were invited in to contribute their thinking.

These discussions soon became the focal point of the camp. The homesteaders (ex-coal miners) impressed by the willingness of university students to give up their summer to help them gain a new and better livelihood, soon spoke more freely of their own experiences in the mines and "company towns."

A Worth-While Experiment

At the end of the summer both the

students who had participated and the homestead of which they had been a part, were unanimous in their feeling that it had been an unusually worth-while experiment.

To be sure, the camp had not found answers to all the problems of the soft coal industry. They had, however, discovered several areas where beginnings could be made. They had gained a deeper understanding of the economic and the human implications of coal.

And, what is probably most important, they

had demonstrated a technique whereby a more privileged group could win its way into the life of a "distressed area" during the summer, and there make a substantial contribution to community life.

Since the summer of 1934 the number of work camps has steadily increased, and six are being held this summer.

As each new camp has been added the American Friends Service Committee has been interested that it should be located in a "distressed area" previously not touched by the programme.

Each site for a work camp lies near the centre of a major "problem area" of the United States.

Alternative to Military Service

As the work camp programme has been extended during the past four years the general pattern has remained very much the same as that of the first camp.

It would be incorrect, however, not to admit that the American work camps are creating a pattern of organization and emphasis somewhat different from their European predecessors. The less rigid military training regulations in the United States makes it possible for the American work camps to lay less stress on the summer's experience as in itself a moral alternative to military service.

Thus they are free to place more emphasis on the whole field of social reconstruction as the basic alternative service.

It has thus been quite natural for several of the American camps to work out an educational programme which, on its own merits, has won the cooperation of the Institute of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, and has led social science departments of other of the larger eastern universities actively to cooperate in sending advanced students into the camps.

The relatively free summers of American university students has meant that instead of operating as short-term camps, as is the case with various English work camps, the American camps have been able to continue throughout the eight weeks of the summer with relatively little change in personnel.

The longer period together has not only given the group an opportunity for fuller acquaintance with the community (and thus has made living in community homes less necessary to an understanding of community life), but it has given the student group an opportunity to learn something of the art and self-discipline of group living.

The American work camps are introducing increasing numbers of university men and women to the realities of various "problem areas" of the United States, where major economic and industrial issues still remain unsolved.

immediately. I just sat propped up, for a long while staring at the jagged rent torn in the wall opposite. Any time would do. In the end I dragged myself out and found this shell of a place and a food dump. . . .

I am in a fever. Bacteria. I may as well talk on paper until the end comes as listen to the echo of my voice reverberating from the walls of this unbearable silence. Besides. . .

I do not wish the archaeologist of the future to judge western civilization by the havoc of this terrible climax. After all, why should the barbarism of the few obliterate the record of the noblest and best?

What did the war-monger yelling "patriotism" know of the trees and fields of England, or of the homes of the little folk and the peace they radiated?

The man who squealed with fright when a cracker exploded in his face had no compunction about manufacturing the most diabolical machines of destruction. You who follow after will never know of the heroism of the poor; you will only have evidence of the insolence, brutality and cowardice of their masters.

They blasted their trail across civilization because the way of the needle's eye was impossible for their load of mischief. Jesus of Nazareth knew them.

And what of the art and culture of England—the creation of a thousand years?

Why should the folly of statesmen and the vain man's lust for dominion be visited upon the splendid galaxy—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Pope, Swift, Fielding, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, Browning—who gave a volume of delight for every day of the year. You of the future will nev. . .

FOR days I have been stumbling in this scene of desolation. The world for me has become one all-embracing charnel-house. The silence, eerie and vast and awful, will sooner or later drive me mad.

I have stared for days at monstrous piles of dusty masonry, and huge steel girders contorted into fantastically grotesque shapes. There is one on the skyline, now, rearing its sinuous neck like a sea-serpent petrified in its death throes.

I have heaved and strained at debris in the frantic hope of releasing someone. It is in vain. They are all gone. . . . And now this abysmal silence. I might be God contemplating chaos, only I am powerless to create in my own image.

An odd thought: has just crossed my mind. It is strange how persistent our sense of humour can be. Even now when I am alone in this frightful world of indescribable futility, it has not entirely departed from me.

I wished our politicians could view the panorama with me so that I could ask if this was the peace they had intended.

It seems æons ago when those grave statesmen urged the country to pay capitalists, who ran armament companies, millions and millions of money to safeguard democracy—to purchase peace at a price no-one could assess.

Yes; I should like the editors of certain newspapers to be present. They were wont to write fatuous articles about national prestige and imperial glories. One in particular penned pompous eulogies in praise of a certain "Christian Gentleman" who was intent on devastating his native land. Oh, and the proprietors of newspapers who held blocks of shares in aero-companies.

I wonder whether they escaped retribution after all. Perhaps they are hibernating

A
fantasy
by . . .

The Sole Survivor

Edward
L.
Giles

in bomb-proof shelters on some of the remoter islands on the coast of Scotland, which they bought some time before the outbreak of hostilities.

The nation's armaments were in the pocket of private firms who didn't greatly care in what country their agents started the race in armaments—there was always a market for home consumption. And when the two huge mountains of death made contact, both exploded to leave this terrible wreck behind. Oh, God, if only one side had told the traffickers in death to go to hell!

The whole business got too complicated toward the end. We just groped blindly, apathetically. At first the radio blared forth diatribe against the enemy, sought to raise morale, and attempted with hysteria to re-quicken a blasted patriotism. Eminent divines of the Church of England—not to be confused with the Church of Christ—called down poison gas and aerial torpedoes upon "the barbarian" and "the infamous pagan;" but no-one knew what was actually happening—not even the authorities. Even the broadcast lies ceased soon after the outbreak of hostilities.

I don't know why I have been singled out to gaze upon this topsy-turvy totalitarian graveyard. Sometimes I think I must be a spirit disembodied by a high-explosive shell revisiting a spot formerly marked X in newspaper photographs.

Perhaps I am earth-bound. But if that were so, why have I not encountered any cabinet ministers or armament magnates—or military experts revisiting the scene of their triumph? The mansions prepared by Our Lord would surely be too ethereal for those advocates of "realistic" politics.

I lost count of time in that filthy cell. They did their damndest to kill not only body but soul. The Inquisition must have been a *conversazione* compared with the ordeal I had to endure at the hands of my interrogators: Freud would have revelled in psycho-analysing those sadists. One would have imagined I was the one man who could have won their beastly war for them. My only respite was when I fell senseless to the ground. . . .

Many pacifists were massed in the town square and there deliberately exposed to aerial attacks, barred from the underground shelters, and denied gas-masks and food tickets. The authorities preferred "that the enemy should waste munition on 'em."

There had been a suggestion in the early stages of using them for bayonet practice, as they would be more realistic targets than bags of straw, but it soon became evident that the bayonet was obsolete.

I was more fortunate. Solitary confinement. And quickly forgotten. . . . I dimly remember a shattering cataclysm. And then this silence closed in like a wall.

I was too dazed to walk out of my prison

The Loyalty of a Pacifist

A psychological
observation by
Martin S. Allwood

QUITE recently I had a heart-to-heart conversation with a Cambridge medical man who has been all over the world and has been in the thick of the fight for existence more than once.

I asked him:

"Tell me, if we had war with Germany next month, would you join up?"

"Yes," he said "I would. And yet, you know... Oh, I don't know. I have a lot of friends in Germany, and I couldn't go and bomb them. I think I would get into the air force and bomb all the towns in Germany, except those where my friends live."

He was quite sincere about it. I could see that there was a deep conflict of loyalties stirring within him; on the one hand there was his duty to England, on the other his duty to those German friends. He did not know how to solve that conflict, and so he had recourse to the curious rationalization you have just read.

★

TO the psychologist, the sense of duty and allegiance are merely late developments in consciousness of the ancient basic drives of the human organism. Some people call them instincts; the name does not much matter, so long as we recognize that these tendencies are inherited, and determine behaviour to a far greater extent than we have hitherto imagined.

These drives find their expression in the external world of material objects. So it happens that all the things we come across in our life are endowed with properties and feeling-tones projected on to them from our own instinctive life.

★

WE call these clusters of feelings and ideas round objects or institutions, sentiments. The formation of sentiments is a very important part of every child's development. In the beginning these sentiments are just a shade higher than the crude appetites. Soon sentiments begin to be formed round almost anything within the reach of the child. Eventually, genuine interests slowly emerge from the sentiments, and adult life is reached.

The strange thing is that later on in life our behaviour is largely dictated, not by interests, but by the remaining sentiments of childhood. They may be irrational, they may be ridiculous, but they still continue powerfully to influence conduct from the obscure regions of the unconscious.

We may know that the house we live in is dirtier and more uncomfortable than the one across the road; but we still go on living in it, "Just because I like the old place." Arguments seldom succeed in convincing a person that central heating is superior to the good old fireplace, if his sentiments have been unconsciously formed round the latter.

★

MODERN psychology is faced with the task of explaining such anomalies of conduct. In the course of its investigations, however, a far more serious lack of adjustment between the individual and the stern facts of his environment has been unearthed.

I am referring to the increasingly common mental instability or lack of correspondence between the individual's beliefs and theories on the one hand, and the world of facts on the other. Behaviour goes on in the old sentimental rut, while the theories show a more and more luxuriant neglect of the actual life the individual is leading;

In his final "Speaking Personally" article LORD PONSONBY discusses the methods adopted by pacifists, and declares

WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS

I NOW want to deal with the method and approach of convinced pacifists. Here, before I have finished, I am likely to be rather controversial because I am speaking personally. But I shall endeavour not so much to dispute other people's methods as to assert my own.

I referred last week to the sentimentality of people who call themselves realists or often "business men." We are united in regarding the sentimental appeal as most objectionable; but its power is insufficiently recognized. When facts are difficult to find and arguments difficult to formulate, sentimentality can fill the gap.

When war is declared the press and speakers vie with one another in deluding, and successfully deluding, the masses by speaking of "King and country," "hearth and home," "the interests of civilization," "British grit," "winning through," &c.

To counter this, quiet reasoning or a high religious appeal is utterly useless. To try and compete in sentimentality by describing horrors and atrocities is not a method most of us care to adopt.

All we can do is to prepare people beforehand for the release of this sob-stuff so that they may not be taken in by it. This in itself is a pretty stiff bit of work. But it points to the fact that our opportunity is now in so-called peace-time not after the bugle has sounded.

THE Peace Pledge Union was originally founded on a definitely religious basis.

and so the stage is set for a general, widespread psychosis.

It is at this point that the experience of the last war becomes valuable to the psychologist. Dr. McCurdy and others have shown clearly that the people who broke down mentally under the strain of that terrible period did so largely on account of a conflict between two loyalties.

Their loyalty to their country commanded them to stay in the trenches; their loyalty to themselves ordered them to get out of it. In other words, the war forced them into a situation where the concept of duty became less simple than when they joined up in England.

An instinctive loyalty to their fellow-beings on the other side came into terrible conflict with the loyalty acquired while they grew up in England; the results were so terrible that they can hardly be described. Insanity was not the worst.

★

THE divided loyalties of the soldiers of the last war were not merely instinctive; they were also the result of the sentiment and interest formations of a lifetime. To the pacifist, then, the problem is how to form, or assist in forming, such sentiments and interests as will make war virtually impossible.

Fortunately, all these sentiments need not be formed. They are there, and we merely need to discover and emphasize them. Our task is to point out and appreciate all that we owe to foreign countries in culture and material progress.

There are objects and institutions all around us that are due to the diligence and hard work of our friends in other countries. The typewriter on which I am writing this article was made in America; there is somebody over there to whom I owe gratitude and appreciation.

But this will not be sufficient. As it is easier for us English to travel today than for most other nations, we should do well in taking every opportunity of this sort, and endeavour wherever we go to fraternize with the people, and enjoy the things we like in their country.

If we do that, the sentiments and interests will be formed that will inevitably make another war so repugnant to our conscious and unconscious life, that the whole idea of it will be rejected in disgust.

Soon after, Dick Sheppard opened the door to others, making the only necessary qualification, a determined refusal to help or participate in war. The religious appeal has been very effective in many cases. But the subtle official opposition of the institutional religious bodies, and the obligation the hierarchy of the Church of England maintain always to be on the side of authority have produced a conflict of opinion on the part of Christians which has been deplorable.

If one half of the ferocious zeal exhibited by some sects of religious people against other sects was enlisted on behalf of indisputable Christian teaching as against the encouragement of devilry and cruelty in man, the spiritual influence of religion would be overwhelming.

Speaking personally and quite frankly, I have made it quite clear from the start, that in religious matters I stand outside. I am not ashamed of my position, and therefore I am entitled to declare that, believing as I do in the spiritual nature of man I am firmly convinced that all supernatural doctrines and beliefs, so far from helping, are definitely inimical to its development.

They afford easy subterfuges and soothing consolations for people who wish to avoid grappling with the realities of life. I will say no more on this point because no-one in our movement has disputed that there is special value in the very differences in our varied approaches.

I HAVE expressed before now my serious doubts as to the advisability of concentrating any of our energies, by declaration or organization, on self-improvement.

Necessary as this no doubt is in the life of every human being, I regard it as a matter which can only be in any way effective if it is pursued privately and individually. But my chief objection has always been that it undoubtedly suggests that war exists because of our faulty natures. Were this really the case, our task would be so superhuman that I for

one should be reluctant to join in tackling it.

But, so far from this being true, I am never tired of declaring that while evil passions and a combative instinct of course exist in man and can be roused and exploited, they are most emphatically not the causes of modern international war.

This is important because the true causes, which I cannot enumerate here, are made more easily remediable.

SO, in my opinion, it amounts to this:

Either a course is pursued toward a millennium so remote and conjectural as to render our efforts hopeless;

Or we can concentrate on the conditions, circumstances, opinions, traditions,

The next writer under the heading
"Speaking Personally"
will be
DR. A. D. BELDEN
His first article will appear
Next Week

and mistakes which are staring us in the face and, in formulating our alternative, hold out a prospect, in no remote future, which can inspire us with hope and confidence.

I would also emphasize once more that, from the point of view of morality, many who are opposed to us have every bit as high a standard as any within our movement who are consciously pursuing a course of self-improvement.

Nevertheless, this line of action may make a strong appeal to some and there can be no question of positively discouraging it. I would say more: that if any young man conscientiously feels that by this means he can fortify himself for the testing day, he is amply justified in undertaking special training without neglecting his endeavours to prevent that testing day from coming.

I believe, and in fact I know, that our propaganda has made even some of our opponents reflect, some of the undecided hesitate, and some of the open-minded sympathetic.

It would be a national disaster if no such opinion as ours existed in this country. So we can forge ahead in good heart and with constant gratitude in our minds to our founder.

Arthur Ponsonby

STILL GOING UP?

The number of public libraries where PEACE NEWS is available each week has now passed the 350 mark.

Since the last list we published, we have been notified of the paper's entry into libraries at:

Barnehurst;
Blaenau Ffestiniog; &
Redcar.

The actual total is now 352.

PAX PLAYERS' FESTIVAL

A festival of peace plays will be an outstanding attraction at the fourth annual gathering of the International Pax Players Association, which will be held at High Leigh, Lord Street, Hoddesdon, Herts., from October 8 to 10. Other activities will include the holding of the eleventh annual general meeting, talks and discussions.

In connexion with the festival, entries from affiliated branches will be free, but entries from unaffiliated companies will be welcomed, the entrance fee being 10s 6d.

It has been decided that the plays must be definitely peace propaganda. Any groups with any doubt as to their choice are advised to submit their plays to the honorary organizer in order to avoid disappointment through disqualification.

Teams will compete for the "Founder's Shield" to be held for one year. Special points will be reserved for original plays. Mr. Harold Down, editor of *Theatre and Stage*, will adjudicate.

The charge for the full weekend will be 22s. Sleeping accommodation will be very limited, only fifty in all, and early application is therefore desirable as requests will be dealt with strictly in order of receipt.

A detailed syllabus will be issued when arrangements are complete, but it is advisable that those who anticipate attending should send notification promptly to the Honorary Organizer, International Pax Players Conference, 21 Roscoe Street, Bunhill Row, E.C.1.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

July 9, 1938

THE WAY OUT?

THAT the policy of the British Government is one of "no more war"—in the sense of "a general conflagration"—has again been emphasized. Most of the first part of MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S speech at what *The Times* called "the National Government party rally" at Kettering on Saturday might have been made by a pacifist.

But that with that is bound up the establishment of the authority of the State (involving inevitably a corresponding lessening of the freedom of the individual conscience) was also emphasized. "I cannot believe," said MR. CHAMBERLAIN, "that anyone who is not blinded by party prejudice, anyone who thinks what another war would mean, can fail to agree with me and to desire that I should continue my efforts."

He appealed particularly to Liberals to join the National Government's supporters, but added: "What I regret about the Opposition is the impression it creates abroad of national disunity."

One people, one State, one leader?

Other recent and current events also reflect this sure, however slow, movement toward authoritarianism. The brandishing of the Official Secrets Act even in the face of Members of Parliament who can be relied upon to trot docilely into the Government voting lobby but who dare to be critical outside it, the policy abroad of friendship with militarily strong States at the expense of the weak, even the ever-growing burden of arms are indications of the trend, rather than sinister threats in themselves.

Nor is the agitation for conscription—either openly or via a national register, as expressed again last week in a resolution carried by a large majority at a Central Council meeting of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations—to be regarded as some special kind of danger. It is only part of the general drift toward increased power for "the State" and a corresponding lessening of the freedom of the individual. In the political jargon of the day (which, however, consists of over-generalizations and misleading associations), it is bound up with the drift toward fascism and away from democracy.

Opposition to conscription needs to be rigorously carried on to expose one of the more objectionable forms of the danger that confronts democracy. But it will only be effectively removed from the field of practical politics in proportion as the system of individual and national freedom, both political and national, that is democracy is maintained and extended.

Is this drift to be allowed to continue as if it were inevitable? Are the forces of freedom and humanity paralysed? We cannot believe it. But there does seem to be a vital and urgent need for some rallying point, some clear aim or object on which to focus the attention of our naturally democracy-loving but apparently leaderless people.

Is there not a way out through the bringing together in one fellowship of all who desire to establish not only individual freedom of thought and action but freedom for all to live a full life, who see that this means mutual recognition by the nations of one another's needs, and who know that force can have no place in such recognition?

It is not enough just to believe these things. If such a fellowship were brought into being—however loosely—it must seek,

"These comrades remind me of the glorious, happy days of long ago when first I met
Hardie and Morris, Hyndman and Burrows . . ."

GEORGE LANSBURY

Sees Hope in the Youth of Today

IN company with Mrs. Ursula Roberts, who at a moment's notice admirably filled the place of Ruth Fry who was prevented by illness from taking part in the meetings, I have once more seen and understood what the Peace Pledge Union means to young people.

My going to Lancashire the weekend before last was occasioned by an invitation to address the boys of a public school near Fleetwood. I spent an enjoyable evening with as fine a gathering of clean and indeed healthy-minded boys as may be met with anywhere in the world.

Fortunate indeed is the boy who is so well favoured as to be allowed the privilege of attending and living in this spacious, well-planned Rossall School under the guidance of a headmaster and staff who understand the true meaning of the words "healthy minds in healthy bodies," simply because they know "mankind does not live by bread alone."

★ ★

MY evening talks both as lecturer and afterward and on Saturday, walking around the wide, open playing fields situated almost on the sea, have given me a much better idea of what life might be for our young people if once we accepted as true the truth: we are all children of

(Continued from Col. 1).

by whatever means seems most suitable, to influence the political events of the day.

It means some hard and devoted work, in one form or another. It means proper equipment, in every sense of the word, for a task at least as big as the military task to which go all the resources of devotion and equipment in the State.

But it is just that spirit of devotion and preparedness that is so manifest today. The trouble is that it is being directed to wrong ends. The fact that it has to be stimulated, if not yet forced, only indicates the widespread sense of bewilderment and failure to see a clear purpose worthy of willing devotion and sacrifice. That is the opportunity that needs to be seized—and seized boldly.

We believe it can be done and the world led to sanity. What we do not accept is the attitude so often expressed by statesmen—and repeated by MR. CHAMBERLAIN on Saturday—that the policy of armament is "madness and folly" but must be proceeded with. Even an absence of political policy (if such a thing were possible) could scarcely be madder than one that accepts and practises madness well knowing it to be such. But surely democracy can do better than that and give a lead that at least holds the hope of peace.

A Bishop's Lead

BETTER late than never, let us pay tribute to a bishop who has put in plain, and commendably few, words the way to peace.

Writing in the May issue of his *Diocesan Leaflet*, DR. A. A. DAVID (Bishop of Liverpool) said:

If we have regard for our neighbour's welfare as for our own, if we ask a neighbour nation, "What do you need and how can we help you to get it?", then we are building peace.

The earth produces enough and it might produce more than enough to provide for the material needs of all its inhabitants, but only if the products are shared. It is time for Christians throughout the world to judge both policy and diplomacy by this test. Does it lead to free exchange, that is, to a real sharing of the products of agriculture and industry? If not, it ought to be condemned.

This should not be a lone voice but the united message of the Church. Is it too much to hope that this plea will be taken up?



Photo. by Howard Coster

one Father and therefore all members of one family.

My chief and overwhelming thought all through this weekend was this: why is it apparently impossible for the Christians of the world to stop war? Why should quite good people continue to believe this man-made curse must continue?

Rifle ranges and cadet corps are to be found in most public schools. I did not inquire whether such are in vogue at Rossall, though I did see a rifle range. I am, however, quite certain there is no racial hatred to be found in the minds of tutors or headmaster or the boys, even though some of the masters have served in past wars.

★ ★

ON Sunday morning I heard and took part in a great service for children and heard quite a good sermon, though I feel sure that on the question of peace and war the preacher would use the great word "but."

My object in this connexion is to tell you that a couple of dozen children—not one of them was over about twelve years of age—took part in choral singing. Looking at them so happy and young, I tried to visualize them with gas masks, or being bombed to death by thermite, or our men, in the name of "defence," bombing other mothers' children in another land.

The horror of the thoughts which flooded my mind almost caused me to stand up and ask: "How long are Christians going to continue praying for peace and at the same time supporting the ghastly armaments policy of the Government?"

I could not muster up courage to do this,

MAX PLOWMAN

sent to the "Daily Express" a reply to Lord Castlerosse's recent article demanding "Peace-Time Conscription."

The "Daily Express" did not publish that reply. It will, however, appear in PEACE NEWS
NEXT WEEK

but could resolve to keep on keeping on in the old-fashioned way of propaganda.

★ ★

AND this my comrades and I tried to do. On the Saturday and Sunday, at Fleetwood, Cleveleys, and Blackpool, we held great meetings. At Blackpool, of course, the meeting was a great one and most enthusiastic. So also were the others.

What cheered me most was not merely the number and enthusiasm of our young people. It is not possible to mention names—I forget names.

But I shall never forget the enthusiasm of the handful of young people which, with splendid cooperation of some older ones, not only made these meetings possible, but is slowly but surely permeating the thought of these faraway pleasure resorts.

Everybody I met—shopkeepers, merchants, working people—all seemed to wish them well.

★ ★

THESE comrades reminded me of the glorious, happy days of long ago when first I met Hardie and Morris, Hyndman and Burrows, and all of them were bound together, struggling for a great impersonal cause.

Our struggles often seemed hopeless; we were held together and kept one course because our God was an impersonal one. Now, many years later, I find myself in company with other groups of young people belonging to a new generation.

Whatever the future has in store for us—and it may be storm and stress and great material loss—the past days will always live. So will these, for they tell of a new-found faith, founded on the ancient truth that only justice, equity, and love, and co-operation can give us peace and security.

Our lives will often fail to give us what we need, but if to us our ideal is real all will be well.

And if some of you who were so kindly, generous, and helpful to Mrs. Roberts and myself read these lines, please accept my love and gratitude.

Over all and above everything else preserve your faith in dark days and bright. Never forget one can never see the end. But the end will be victory because no other end is possible if our race is to continue.

GLORY

"ONE of the living comrades of our 800,000 dead (in the War to End Wars)" quotes the following from Elizabeth Cumings:

Is it a fine thing to be dead, my brothers? They said it was a splendid thing to die, And they said *Dulce et decorum* over you And spoke of England and posterity.

Is it a fine thing to be dead, young soldiers? Perhaps you have forgotten wire and flame, And senseless raving noise and how you stumbled, And crawled and bled, and no-one ever came.

Perhaps you have forgotten spring and swallows, And lips you kissed, and sons you never knew, And now care only for the victor's laurel That's yours, instead of all you meant to do.

Is it a brave thing to be dead, my brothers? And can you hear them talking, where you lie, Of their bright honour that you kept untrusted, And of their pride, who live, and bade you die?

"WE HAVE TO CREATE A BETTER BRITAIN"

War-Time Promises That Have Not Been Kept

MILLIONS FOR ARMS WHILE MANY STILL GO HUNGRY

"WE have to create a better Britain." Those were the words in which King George V, when the Armistice was signed, summed up solemn pledges that there should be "a land fit for heroes to live in." Those who had made those promises, added the King, had "to bestow more care on the health and well-being of our people and ameliorate the conditions of labour."

About the same time Mr. Lloyd George asked for a mandate for the Government "to work and carry through the programme which will make the old country a fit country for the heroic men who have suffered for it."

The announcement on Tuesday that the number of registered unemployed in mid-June was 1,802,912—an increase of half-a-million on the figure for June of last year—showed that Britain is heading for another disastrous slump, in which the unemployed will be singled out for further suffering.

Since the War, it has become clear that the promise of building a "better Britain" would not be kept, and today Britain is spending nearly £1,000,000 a day on preparation for another war before fulfilling the pledges made to the men who suffered in the last one.

This contrast is strikingly illustrated by the following facts, supplied by a Special Correspondent who, although a victim of the Means Test, has refused work at a new munition works in his neighbourhood on account of his pacifist principles.

Life Under the Means Test

From a Special Correspondent
in South Wales

AT present I am allowed 34s. 6d. a week by the Unemployment Assistance Board. This is for myself, wife, and daughter, aged ten years. Rent is 13s. 6d. a week; light and fires, 3s. a week, leaving 18s. to purchase everything else required in the home. Of course, it cannot do so, even though my wife bakes all our own bread, cakes, &c.

There is not a copper left for boots and clothing, and, but for the kindness of relatives, and my wife's work with the needle, we manage to be respectable. I have had one new suit since 1927.

MANY PEOPLE UNDERNOURISHED

It is interesting to note how surplus earnings are dealt with by the UAB. For instance, if I let my rooms for apartments at half rent, 6s. 9d. each, the authorities would take into consideration the 6s. 9d. received from apartments.

Under the Means Test the margin between under-nourishment and nourishment is so fine that most people are existing below the former level.

The chairman of the UAB gets £5,000 a year, the deputy chairman and four other members, £750 each. How easy it is for the chairman, with nearly £100 a week, to arrange for others to live on a subsistence rate barely sufficient to keep body and soul together.

Now we understand that the board has under consideration ways and means to deal strongly with cases such as "those whose unemployment is due to wilful idleness, who avoid or refuse work, where it is obtainable, or throw up jobs upon some flimsy pretext." Further, "attention in the first place is to be given to applicants of 30 years of age or under."

FUTURE CANNON-FODDER

Why "30 years of age or under"?

Well, if these poor fellow cannot satisfy the board that they have a genuine case, they will be politely squeezed out, and cannon-fodder will be their ultimate end.

From my knowledge of this area, it is very hard indeed for a man of thirty to obtain employment, and of course, we "over forties" are totally ignored. For example, ten men were sent from a local exchange at the beginning of this week to the munition works at Bridgend. When they reached the works only six were actually wanted; the remainder had to pay their bus fare home again. Some of these men were under 30 years of age.

No Use in Peace Time?

ALTHOUGH no special effort is made to find work for the unemployed in peace time, the Government will want everybody if war comes. Speaking at Corby, Northants, recently, Mr. H. Ramsbotham said:

Every man or woman will have to serve in some capacity or other in wars of the future and all will have to do their duty.

Not far from my home a widower, aged 62, lives with his daughter as his housekeeper; he is allowed 26s. a week; 13s. 6d. goes in rent, leaving 12s. 6d. for all necessities for two adult persons.

MEANS TEST IN ACTION

Another widower, aged sixty, has a daughter keeping house for him; he is thrifty enough to own his house (at least he is paying ground rent for the privilege of owning it). At present he is allowed 9s. a week, increased from 5s. some weeks ago because a son who lives at home is working on short time. When the son resumes full work, his father's allowance will be reduced. That is the Means Test in action.

Then there is the case of a married man with four sons and two girls, two of the sons over 21 years, the other two earning only boys' wages at the colliery; the two girls are still at school. Because the four boys were working, the father's allowance was 4s. 6d.

In another case, in somewhat similar circumstances, the allowance was 5s.

The investigators employed by the board either call at our homes, or meet us at the local games institute, on an average once a month, to ask the usual questions regarding any change in circumstances.

In fairness to these investigators it must be said that they are very good in their attitude. We realize they are only doing their duty. Of course, there is the occasional bumptious, inquisitive man, and his treatment by the womenfolk is not to be envied.

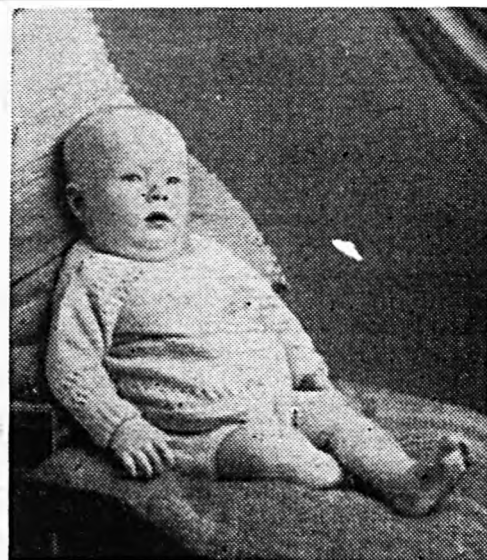
WHEN THE SLUMP COMES...

Meanwhile, we are now spending nearly £1,000,000 a day on war preparations, there are millions of men and women existing below the line of nourishment, children going to school in mid-winter half clothed, in the richest country the world has known.

What will Britain be like when the trade slump becomes firmly established?

It will not, of course, be a trade slump this time, it will only be a "recession." This word sounds much sweeter, just as "special" areas sounds better than "distressed" areas.

"Distressed" sounds as though people were in a distressed condition, but "special" areas suggests that special benefits and concessions are given them.



VICTIMS OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

By CHARLES STUART

THIS photograph is of one of the have-not babies in the East End of London, for whom the Good Companions are helping to care.

His "spring confection" was knitted by two members of the Highgate group of the Peace Pledge Union.

Under existing economic conditions, from now until he starts work at the age of fourteen, this little chap will have to be fed, clothed, and housed for three shillings a week (a moderate estimate for "fags" for the majority of us, I expect.)

Since his arrival his mother has lost two stone in weight and we are anxious to get her and the baby away to the country or seaside for a week or two.

Any offers of help will be gratefully acknowledged by me.

The Good Companions is a band of people, brought together by Charles Stuart and a few friends, whose aim is to relieve misery by service, not charity. Charles Stuart's address is 8 Highcroft Road, Crouch Hill, London, N.19.

COOPERATION OR WAR

Europe Must Choose

"EUROPE must choose between fraternal economic cooperation and war," says a statement issued by a number of pacifist organizations in France, which asks that a world economic conference be called, in which all nations would participate on a footing of equality, to consider the economic reorganization of the world.

Emphasizing the vital choice to be made, the statement points out that:

Free access to raw materials, financial reorganization, emigration, readjustment of treaties—on the solution of these problems depends the peaceful working out of the destiny of nations.

The settlement of the colonial problem is also a part of this justice, a basis for this peace. Colonial ambitions have always been one of the underlying causes of war.

The only fruitful contribution to the cause of peace would be a colonial statute, as for instance a general mandate regime, which would safeguard the interests of colonials against wealthy Powers and the demands of prestige of large nations.

The Disarmament Conference should be taken up again; only its success can instil new energy into the League of Nations.

The organizations which, on the initiative of the French Committee of the International Pacifist Association, signed this statement included: League of Fighters for Peace; League of Pacifist Veterans; Peace Centre; the Young Republic; League of Mothers and Teachers for Peace; Workers' and Peasants' Federation.

At Easter various conferences passed individual resolutions in favour of calling a world economic conference.

A.R.P. Officials Cannot Deter Dutch Pacifists

From Our Own Correspondent

RIJSDWIJK, Holland.

IT is only seldom that one can tell whether a special kind of propaganda has been successful.

In the case of propaganda in connexion with official ARP meetings in this district, however, we can be sure that it has.

For some days before the first meeting The Hague Peace Workers' Group climbed many thousand steps and put leaflets in every letter-box. On the day of the meeting one of the group's publicity trailers, pushed by hand, paraded the streets, together with men and women carrying posters—some of them wearing cardboard gas-masks and several distributing leaflets.

NO QUESTIONS ALLOWED

Everyone going to the meeting received a leaflet. The hall was crowded.

Taught by bitter experience, the ARP officials had announced that no questions might be asked, nor was any discussion allowed.

The Labour town council member for the district was chairman, and a university chemistry professor and two others were present to tell the public what to do, and what not to do, if The Hague were raided by bombers.

Every time one of them said something absurd a voice from the public challenged or corrected the statement. The offender, cheered by his friends, was immediately led out of the hall by a constable in civilian clothes. This happened about twenty times and made the chairman visibly nervous!

PEACE-WORKERS BARRED FROM MEETING

Six weeks later another meeting was announced and given considerable publicity. The peace group did its utmost.

For instance, the publicity trailer is not allowed to stand still—it must always move on. But, of course, when a nail in a wheel has gone wrong, just in front of the hall, it has to be repaired!

Members of the group tried to get into the meeting, but the Professor stood behind the glass doors with a constable and not one of the would-be hecklers was allowed to enter.

The daughter of one of them, however, escaped attention. She reported that complete silence reigned during the meeting. Throughout the big hall only fifty people (including police) were scattered.

"Lie of Passive Defence"

In other countries than Holland, pacifists are preoccupied with the question of "passive defence." In general it seems to be agreed that the ulterior aim of such measures, is to weaken resistance to war within the country and to bring about the militarization of the nation in peace time.

In France, measures for passive defence brought the question up for consideration last year. No general action has yet been planned, however.

It is to be noted, nevertheless, that the weekly pacifist paper, *La Patrie Humaine*, is at present publishing a series of articles on "The Lie of Passive Defence." The recent conference of the French branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation emphasized in one of the discussions the necessity of resisting every effort made to militarize civilians by means of passive defence.

In Switzerland, on the occasion of a black-out at Zurich and elsewhere, a certain number of pacifists were obliged to pay fines for refusing to extinguish their lights.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE

A Criticism of Pacifism

By R. PALME DUTT

in the

LABOUR MONTHLY

43 Museum Street, W.C.1

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

HOME COUNTIES

Enfield Region

ALL groups in this region are still intensely active. During the past month a great deal of time has been devoted to discussion and to group training.

According to the June issue of *Regional News*, the region's own journal, "pacifism in Enfield has had a most fluctuating but progressive existence, and hand in hand with this progress has come the inevitable need for change." Present circumstances point to the need for some reformation in the executive functions. Suggestions have now been put before groups for consideration.

Kingston-on-Thames

With the cooperation of members from **Surbiton, Hook, Raynes Park, Stoneleigh, Norwood, and Alton** a poster parade of some 22 strong turned out on the final day of the local civic week, and for an hour and a half they paraded among the shoppers in the crowded main streets.

After the parade an open-air meeting was addressed by John Barclay and Frank Regan, who put the pacifist view-point to a very attentive audience.

The day's activities were concluded with a march to the Peace Book Shop, which was officially opened by John Barclay.

Richmond

A special point of open-air meetings will be made this summer. Members confidently believe that they will result in increased membership and in a greater appreciation of the pacifist position.

Arrangements are now in hand for a

First Prize for Peace Tableau in Carnival

From Our Own Correspondent

WILLESSEN group of the PPU won first prize at the local cottage hospital carnival, with a lorry decorated in white with the lettering "Peace Pledge Union" and "No More War" in blue flowers.

On the lorry was a tableau which included a representation by a member of the "Angel of Peace." Other members and a few friends represented other countries, and five little girls acted as heralds with silver trumpets. Some of the costumes were home-made.

There was a very large entry for the tableau, and a procession about a quarter of a mile long wound its way slowly through the streets, crowded with people, toward King Edward VII Park, where the judging took place.

The prize money (three guineas) was presented to the hospital.

Although Willesden group has only been in existence for three months it already boasts four teams, and a fifth is in formation.

PEACE NEWS is sold in the High Street every Saturday evening, and poster parades and meetings are frequently arranged.

public meeting to be held in the St. John's Hall on October 4 which will be addressed by Dr. Alex Wood and Miss S. Morrison.

Sutton

Activities of the **Wandsworth** group, which celebrated its second anniversary with a garden party last Saturday, were chosen by Eric Tucker as an example of how contact has been made with the man in the street, when he addressed a meeting at Sutton.

Referring to the efforts of organizations all over the country to make contact with the man in the street, Mr. Tucker asked what little extra the PPU could offer.

His assertion was that if members could live in the spirit of pacifism, and use their opportunities, as individuals, to go out of their way in their daily lives to give help, then they would be living their creed and showing others how pacifism works.

Ashford

It was **Canterbury** and not the Ashford group which, as stated last week, held its first meeting on June 12. Members of the latter group, however, have been helping for some time to get the new group started. Actually the Ashford group has been meeting regularly for 2½ years.

LONDON

Beckenham

FOR some time now correspondence has been in progress between this group and the Beckenham Borough Council on air raid precautions.

In reply to one of the Town Clerk's most recent letters, in which he described the council's responsibility in taking "a consistent course in the interests of the townspeople" as "an express statutory duty," Mr. W. C. Webb, secretary of the Beckenham group wrote:

It is our firm belief that, although the council is probably supporting ARP from excellent motives it is, by assisting the Government to organize and perfect its war machine, merely making the risk of air attack greater, and we regret that it has not given fuller consideration to the policy of constructive pacifism, as outlined in the Manifesto of the Peace Pledge Union, which we are convinced offers the only hope of avoiding the catastrophe of another world war.

SOUTH

Swindon

MEMBERS struck the mark at their monthly meeting when about fifty people listened to Major Andrew, Swindon's ARP Officer, put the case for air raid precautions. They bombarded the speaker with questions, and the general reaction of the meeting was that it was futile and a waste of effort to continue discussions concerning ARP; a much wiser and saner procedure would be to concentrate at future meetings on policies concerning peace-making.

WALES

Cardiff

IT is interesting to note the plan which has been organized here for the "seeing through" of the various activities undertaken by the group.

Each activity will be placed in the hands of a convenor and a small group of members, whose duty it will be to maintain contact with all persons interested in that particular activity, to allocate specific

tasks to those who have offered help, &c. The groups will report regularly to the regional committee.

The following are some of the activities for which these groups will be responsible: public meetings and debates; street sale of PEACE NEWS; leaflet distribution; visitation and collection; drama; recreation and social; peace exhibition; Eisteddfod peace stall.

Mr. J. M. Goodfellow, secretary of the South Wales region, has suggested that the National Eisteddfod from August 1 to 7 would be an ideal opportunity to start a PPU drive throughout South Wales. Already a peace stall has been arranged, but volunteers are required. Mr. Goodfellow invites anyone who is in a village or town without a group to write to him at 3 Marlborough Road, Cardiff, immediately, and he will put him in touch with a group.

To members of groups he says "get your group leader to drop me a line and we will cooperate with him or her for public meetings groups, debates, film shows, and peace plays."

Colwyn Bay

Faithful to its obligations to headquarters this group and members from **Llandudno, Conway, and Llandudno Junction**, staged a manifesto campaign, culminating with a series of public meetings last week; 9,000 handbill copies of the manifesto were distributed to a more or less selected public including church and chapel congregations, clubs, and institutes.

Public meetings were entirely a success, presided over by local pacifists and addressed by John Barclay and Hywel Lewis. Several new signatories were obtained, 120 copies of PEACE NEWS were sold, and also a very encouraging quantity of peace literature.

ON THE HIGH SEAS

The following, which has just reached us from New York, is a description by Peggy Smith of her activities on behalf of the PPU on board the *Queen Mary*.

Early on the first morning (Thursday), having got a small group of people together (three just very interested and one nearly a friend, but no others yet PPU), we went to the Purser to ask if we might arrange a large peace meeting for the whole ship. Ambassador Kennedy was on board, and we had thought of asking him to take the chair (though I myself wasn't sure how that would work).

As the principal "agitator," I was spokesman, and presently I was sent for by the Chief Purser. He was charming, but explained that he couldn't allow the meeting in case it caused disagreement and ill-feeling between the different nationalities and ideologies on board!

I quite realized the possibility of disagreement, but felt that if the meeting were conducted on the right lines it could be a great success. The Purser represented that, after all, passengers were the company's guests, and they must not be offered anything which might upset them.

I remembered that people like the Oxford Group Movement take rooms in hotels and then are allowed to hold great meetings in the ballroom. But this wasn't a hotel—it was a ship on the high seas! We hadn't got as far as this, when the Captain himself came into the Purser's "den."

He said the same things as the Purser, so eventually I had gracefully and sadly to subside.

We then laid plans for three "private" meetings, at which anyone was welcome, in a corner of the third-class lounge. We could not, to my regret, start these on the first day, but began on Friday.

The programme was:—
Friday: "The Basis of Peace"—a general review of spiritual and economic bases.

Saturday: "Can we Hope for Peace with the Present Economic Order?" This meeting was very well attended and a lively and useful discussion followed.

Sunday: "The Peace Movement in England and Elsewhere."

STEWARDS SIGNED PLEDGE

I had plenty of pacifist literature with me and put some out on a table at each meeting. I also had a few books. All copies were borrowed and duly returned on the last evening. Some literature was bought at each meeting, and I had difficulty in not running out of some booklets.

I carried PEACE NEWS under my arm wherever I went on board, and numbers of people came up to me to ask about it, and consequently attended our meetings.

Many took pledge cards and leaflets. Pledges were actually signed by five stewards and stewardesses. They hope to attend meetings in Southampton if these coincide with their times ashore.

P.P.U. SUMMER CONFERENCE

Have you sent in for your application form for this year's summer conference?

Here are the particulars:

Place: Basque House, Langham, near Colchester.
Dates: July 29 to August 5.

Cost: 25s. for the week. 12s. weekend (or part time).

Accommodation: 70 beds in the house. Camping ground for 30 tents. A special invitation is made to anyone to bring tents and equipment and join the conference.

Cooking: Vegetarian and non-vegetarian food.
Conference: Lectures each morning and debates and discussion in the evenings. Among those who have agreed to speak are Sir Norman Angell, Kingsley Martin (Editor *New Statesman*), James Myles (London Cooperative Society), and John Hoyland.

Recreations: Tennis, Cricket, Swimming, Walking, Social evenings (first and last). Play by Headquarters Drama Group.

Please write at once for application form to John Barclay, PPU, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE P.P.U. National Committee Suggested

At the annual meeting of the West Yorkshire Federation of the PPU, held a fortnight ago, the following resolution, which had previously been circulated to the thirty groups in the Region, was unanimously adopted by the delegates present:

"We regard the Sponsors of the PPU as being broadly representative of the nationally-known pacifists and as such a body of leaders whose services are of great value to the Union and widely appreciated.

"We feel, however, that most of them by their daily avocations are prevented from sharing in the day-to-day work of PPU groups and are thus deprived of an adequate understanding of the needs and wishes of the rank and file of the movement. Especially will this apply in relation to the direction and control of the administrative side of the Union's affairs.

"We therefore ask for the consideration of the early election of a national committee, as an addition to the existing board of Sponsors, to give effect to the desire of the movement to be run on more democratic lines, through representation by persons in intimate contact with the work of the groups."

A copy of this resolution has been forwarded to the chairman of the PPU to place before the Sponsors.

Essential Points in the

P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives.

Publicity Van in Notts.

THEY STOPPED, LOOKED, AND LISTENED

From Our Own Correspondent

NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE, with the PPU Publicity Van, has just been through the Nottinghamshire area.

Those who went to the various country towns to support the meetings have been stimulated to fresh efforts in the cause of pacifism, both by his vigorous speeches and by the sympathetic hearing given at each meeting.

It will be a great day when each area can run its own publicity van with a similar speaker.

The van went through Stapleford, Hucknall, Newark-on-Trent, Heanor, and Ripley. In each place we were fortunate in obtaining the friendly cooperation of the police and a stand in the market place.

SHOPPERS INTERESTED

A typical meeting was that in Newark, where shoppers stopped, looked, and listened when the van commenced operations in the market place. They heard Nigel Spottiswoode put the pacifist case before them in a forty-minute speech.

Mr. G. C. Baldwin (Nottingham) also took a turn at the "mike," while the members of the Nottingham and Newark groups did good work among the crowd, selling between thirty and forty copies of PEACE NEWS and distributing PPU Manifestos and other literature.

Taking up the challenge of the huge streamer, stretched across the Town Hall façade behind him, with the inscription, "Air Raid Precautions—Volunteer Now," Mr. Spottiswoode denounced ARP as "the thin end of the conscription wedge," and said it was regarded by the Government as a very useful way of making everybody think of war as a natural thing, "like a thunderstorm," that could not be stopped.

Remarking that so long as we regarded the British Empire—which we had grabbed from time to time—as being our own exclusive property, so long there would not be peace in the world, Mr. Spottiswoode declared: "The Government could be made to pursue a policy of appeasement and reconciliation if we told them flatly that we were not going to fight in their wars any more."

The record of Dick Sheppard's address, describing how he came to found the PPU, was broadcast. Canon Sheppard was due to have visited Newark within a few weeks of his death.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

J. C. MYERS writes from Pittsburg begging us to "acknowledge facts. . . I presume if anyone spit tobacco juice in your eye you would 'take it' because to resent the insult would not be civilized! To resent by force would be horrible!"

The fact is that in our long career every time anyone has spit tobacco juice in our eye we have done nothing whatever about it and have continued to live in peace and self-respect, whereas if we had spit back we should have had to nurse a black eye as well as a drowned one.

—The Arbitrator (USA).

HIS EYES SPOKE VOLUMES

In the dark brown eyes of Somerset Maugham you can see the life story of every human being he has encountered in his wanderings about the earth.—Mr. Godfrey Wynn.

NOW WE KNOW

In big-game shooting the desideratum is to kill instantly and painlessly. In war, on the other hand, the ideal is not to kill, but to incapacitate to an extent which, while precluding further active participation in the war in question, will not debar from pursuit of a military or civil career after hostilities have ceased.—Letter in Sunday Times.

So why anyone opposes war we can't imagine.

INFORMATION BUREAU

"Dressage" is the moulding of horse and rider into a single unit, with a single mind," I read.

I've always been doubtful about these red-faced folk with the vacant stare, but I didn't know there was a technical term for their condition.

NATURE NOTE

It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied.—John Stuart Mill.

GIFTS FROM GOD

Mr. Disraeli once said of Mr. Gladstone that he did not mind his having a fifth ace up his sleeve, but he did object to the suggestion that the Almighty had put it there. The British, more than all the imperialist Powers, shut their eyes to the fact that colonies are acquired and held by force and fraud and they obstinately stand by the legend that God flipped them into their pockets. Like the fox in the fable, who found himself in the hen-coop, they always feel it their duty to remain until peace and order are restored. (Reginald Reynolds).

GETTING READY FOR IT

Oglethorpe University is planning the "Crypt of Civilization," specially prepared steel chambers in which a record of present-day life will be locked up for 6,000 years. By means of phonograph records, models, books, and photographs a complete picture of contemporary civilization is to be preserved. President Jacobs originated the plan.

—"World Events."

REMINISCENCE

Did you read that report in PEACE NEWS the other week about the ARP lecturer who (said the report), "regarded gas as the least of the war perils and the easiest to deal with"? He added that the course would first deal with the gas peril only because it was the easiest to contend with.

It reminds me of the chap who lost his watch in the dark part of the street. He searched for it around the nearest lamp-post because there was more light there.

SAME AGAIN

There was a man of Thessaly
And he was wondrous wise,
He got his men to fight a war
By telling them great lies.

And when all those brave men were dead
He waited twenty years
To tell their children the same lies—
They fell on willing ears.

DON'T READ THIS

At the foot of this column a few weeks ago a letter was quoted from *The Times* of 1828. Unfortunately the date was printed as 1928, which made the quotation pointless.

Yet none of my readers seem to have noticed this misprint. I've always been amazed how easy it seems to be for misprints to get past all the people who are concerned, at one stage or another, with the production of a newspaper; but it isn't often it escapes the eagle eye of all the readers who are not so concerned!

SENT BY A READER



THE figure on the fountain in this picture—taken in Tübingen, a university town in Württemberg—seems to be saluting the hammer and sickle rather than the swastika. Maypoles such as this one are common in German towns on Labour Day, when this photograph was taken by A. Gilpin, of Peterborough. (Other readers are invited to submit interesting photographs to PEACE NEWS.)



Letter from the Editor



17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

WISHING to do his share in the peace movement, a German refugee and teacher of languages by profession writes offering his services (free) for holding a German class for pacifists who wish to go to Germany for the purpose of establishing friendship in personal relations.

He is earning his living in this country (in London) by teaching German at evening institutes and by private tuition. He could take either a beginners' class or an advanced one.

He is entirely free for this service until the end of September, and says he is "available any time for an intensive study circle and willing to go anywhere where there is a group of pacifists ready to study German for this purpose." Anyone who would like to avail himself of this offer should first communicate with STUART MORRIS at Peace Pledge Union headquarters, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

New Science

"BIOSOPHY," about which DR. FREDERICK KETNER writes on page 5 of this issue, is described as a new science and he as its originator.

It arose from his ethical-educational work in connexion with which he also founded in the United States the Spinoza Centre and the Biosophical Institute, of which he is the director. Before that he was actively interested in character education in Australia.

In 1936 DR. KETNER, in line with his character and peace work, presented the plan of establishing Secretaries of Peace in every Government. He was sent by the Biosophical Institute with thousands of petitions to the Inter-American Peace Conference at Buenos Aires, in December of that year. The plan was partly approved by the conference and referred to the Lima Conference in 1938.

In his short stay DR. KETNER, mastering the Spanish language, gave public addresses and radio talks in that language.

Following his return to the United States, he inaugurated the campaign for the establishment of a Secretary of Peace in the United States at a conference held in Niagara and by the establishment of a Secretary of Peace League, Inc.

PEACE NEWS

on the Queen Mary

THE account (on page 10) of PEGGY SMITH'S activities on board the Queen Mary recalled my own visit to the United States nearly a year ago.

As a matter of fact, it is not the first time PEACE NEWS has been made available for passengers and crew in the world's largest ship.

I had a few copies with me when I travelled in her and tentatively approached the librarian to ask if I might leave them in the library. My limited experience of the crew's sympathetic interest supports PEGGY SMITH'S; for he offered himself to put them on the tables.

And I found they were very quickly

snapped up. I heard one passenger later speaking appreciatively of the paper.

The Trouble Today

ANOTHER of the lesser-known PPU speakers, L. O. BROWN, who recently enjoyed (as he puts it) a speaking tour in Devon, writes to suggest that with all the open-air efforts up and down the country there should be enough accounts of amusing incidents to form a weekly feature in our columns.

At any rate, he sets a good example by supplying material, instead of only making suggestions!

At Newton Abbot, he writes, a questioner—not a PPU signatory—developed into a speaker ("as questioners sometimes will") and brought roars of laughter by saying:

The trouble with the young people today is that the message goes in one ear and out the other. Why? Why? Because there is nothing in between to stop it!

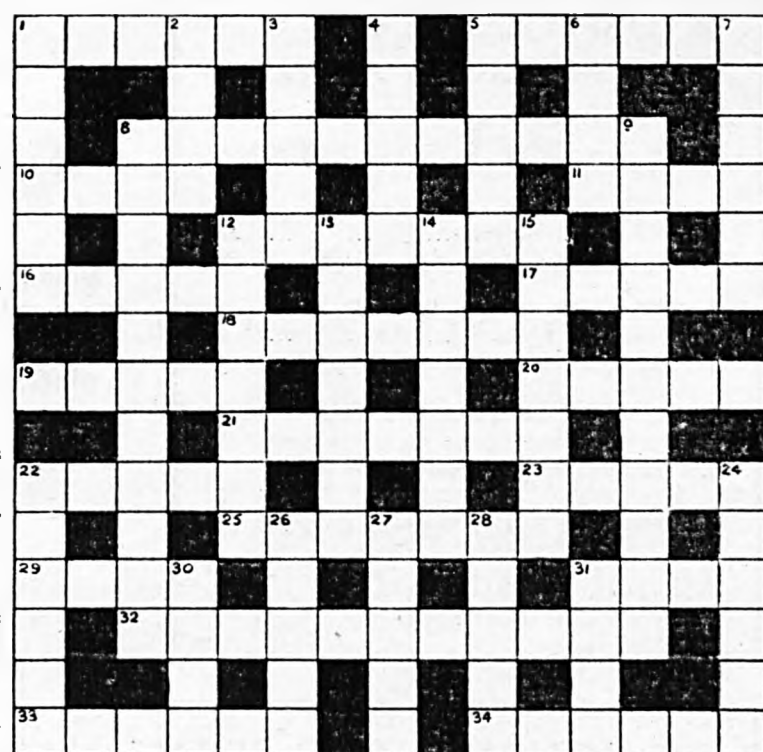
FOR YOUR AMUSEMENT . . .

ACROSS.

1. Father leads a discussion.
5. Mind a liner for an act of endearment.
8. Mad raiments (Anag.).
10. Add yourself to make a Scottish landowner.
11. Act both ways the same.
12. Commence a French article to make one jump.
16. Incur this and you may need it with an additional letter.
17. Part of a flower put in order makes a slip.
18. You won't find this inside anywhere.
19. A leading man in a college or a make benefactor.
20. Cut with precision.
21. Shakespearean storm.
22. It takes two enemies to make this.
23. More than usual.
25. Turned but not on a lathe.
29. Even a woman can't get the last word here.
31. You might get caught in this carriage.
32. Change across a form.
33. To grow out of.
34. Regarding yesterday's dinner.

DOWN.

1. Take a medicine at first and rest on the whole.
2. Behold a Tartan to have produced an egg.



3. This should give you a rise.
4. A twist'd parent becomes docile.
5. Got the hump?
6. See 18 across.
7. A joint from a horse.
8. A ship fears nothing.
9. You shouldn't lose the beginning when it all rises.
12. Curtailed.
13. At least a try.

14. Is this part of Neptune's cutlery?
15. Had a majority.
22. From that time.
24. View with a serpent head.
26. A small animal surely.
27. To stick sounds like a tight corner.
28. Keen.
30. This vocal effort sounds as though it is heard.
31. Dance lightly or fall heavily.

Solution next week

A Song for All Lands

WE know that it's useless, we know that it's wrong,
We know it makes hatred and cruelty strong;
We know it has ruin and death for its crop,
But we can't give it up till the other chaps stop.

We know it brings misery, treachery, shame;
We know it makes women and babies its aim;
We know that the devil will come out on top,
But we can't give it up till the other chaps stop.

We know we are men and we know you are brothers;
We've no wish to butcher your sisters and mothers;
We'd all be too thankful our weapons to drop,
But we can't give them up till you other chaps stop.

We know there's a road and a straight road to peace;
We know if we took it our terrors would cease;
But hell's got to open, the sky's got to drop,
For we can't give up war till the other chaps stop.

D. S. BATLEY.

Twenty-one Years Ago

From the New Crusader, July 13, 1917

A lady, who was at the Geneva Conference long before the war, has told us that during a debate as to whether it was or was not within the laws of war to drop bombs, the argument was put forth that on behalf of the small nationalities it should be allowed, as such methods of warfare were cheaper and gave the small nations a more even chance against the greater ones.

The raid on Saturday has again impressed us with the helplessness of the people against the chances of war. Again we realize the sin of the Church, the sin of the State, and our own sin in so far as by cowardice, indifference, slackness, or caution we have bowed to the Anti-Christ of war. We are horrified at Saturday's casualties. We refuse to face the tens of thousands at the front. A soldier is as dear to the father as a civilian.

Group Notes

By JOHN BARCLAY

More About Manifesto Campaign

IT is good to be able to report that Manchester, Stoke-on-Trent, and Birmingham are all preparing great welcomes for the Manifesto Coach on its way down to London.

Manchester is going to hold its demonstration in Platt Fields on July 20. Since the meeting in the Free Trade Hall, when George Lansbury and the others gave their answer to Winston Churchill, it has been obvious to me that the 59 groups in the area are on tip-top form. It is splendid to be able to report that they made a profit of between £70 and £80 on that meeting.

This was largely due to the magnificent team work of all these groups. Parades of posters by members by cars for nine successive days beforehand ensured publicity, and careful staff work behind the scenes at 41 John Dalton Street made everything work like clockwork on the night.

Birmingham is arranging a Manifesto meeting on July 22 in the Bull Ring. Here again we are sure of an enthusiastic reception.

The specially selected volunteers who make up the coach's crew are to be led by Stuart Morris and any doubts as to the capacity of the others will be set at rest when it is known that such stalwarts as Andrew Stewart of Glasgow, Hope Gill of Alton, and George Piper of Richmond are specimens of his "crew."

The Hyde Park demonstration is timed to begin at 3 o'clock and we shall have two platforms. It is hoped that all those who want to cooperate in the final stages of the tour will be at the Finchley Road end of the by-pass (Tower Garage) at about 1.30; the coach is due to arrive here at 2 o'clock. Private cars, coaches, or vans, which will be decorated and follow the coach to Marble Arch, can be lined up on the side of the by-pass road where marshals will be responsible.

Those who are to sell PEACE NEWS or to distribute literature should report to me at this point by 1 o'clock if possible, or not later than 1.45

I have obtained permission for the parking of cars under supervision of the police in Hyde Park and it will probably be suggested that we put these cars down the north side of the park, between Marble Arch and Lancaster Gate. Details for this will be made known later.

Every London group is expected to provide at least one car or bicycle.

Wales

BETWEEN June 27 and 30 I was in North Wales, speaking at a series of meetings in connexion with the Manifesto Campaign.

Llandudno Junction, Colwyn Bay, and Conway were the centres for the first three days and on the final night a grand meeting at Llandudno itself was addressed by Lady Artemus Jones, Vice-President of the new Welsh Council which coordinates the Peace Pledge Union's work in Wales.

Everywhere I went during those days, I was aware of the strong pacifist background to Welsh culture. It is a great work that is just beginning. Before long it is hoped to cover every town and village in the country; for this purpose special Welsh literature and posters are being printed which, together with the cards already available, will make it possible to invite every Welsh lover of peace into the ranks of the PPU.

We have definitely reached the stage when, with Scotland and Wales separately dealing with their people and able to function rapidly without recourse to London, it has become possible to think in terms of a new step forward toward pacifist public opinion.

Untiring zeal and complete sacrifice by the hundreds of group leaders and others has made this possible in an incredibly short space of time. Now for a rousing campaign to change the universal desire for peace into a demand which brooks no delay. The conscience of the world is troubled; it is to this we appeal to support us in our constructive programme.

The Notice Board

Meetings

West Norwood group will meet on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall—adjacent to West Norwood train terminus.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

Glasgow.—Volunteers to go on rota of sellers. Also volunteers for poster-parades. Write Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2. City, W.1, W.C.1 and N.W.1 groups are combining to draw up rota for theatre and opera-house queues. Volunteers for any day of week. Apply City PPU Headquarters, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Poster Parades

Tonbridge, Kent.—Meet Masonic Buildings, High Street, at 5.30 p.m., on July 16. Also members to distribute literature. Write Secretary, 20, Barden Park Road, Tonbridge.

Reigate, Redhill, and District.—Volunteers wanted, also PEACE NEWS sellers at local Tattoo.

Edgware, Middlesex.—Meet Underground Station today at 3 p.m. Volunteers wanted to carry posters, distribute handbills, and sell PEACE NEWS.

More volunteers needed every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, and on the second and fourth Thursdays of every month at 7.15 p.m.

Long-distance relay poster parade, evening of July 23, from South Croydon to Regent Street, via Norbury, Streatham, Brixton and Kennington; groups interested, write Don Leaney, c/o PPU, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Miscellaneous

Tickets for dance and social, Ilford group. Seven Kings Library Hall, July 16, obtainable from Mr. Spencer, 178 Aldborough Road, Ilford.

Four Basque boys between the ages of eleven and thirteen have not yet been invited to spend one week's holiday from July 29 to August 5 in a private house. Any offers should be sent to 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Young German—speaking some English—desires hospitality in England for about six weeks from July 29, in order to perfect knowledge of language. Willing to give lessons in German in return. Offers to War Resisters' International, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex

TATTOOS: MANCHESTER PROTEST

The Directors of Education of Manchester and Salford have received a letter from the Manchester and Salford Joint Peace Committee protesting against military tattoos and displays arranged as part of the Manchester centenary celebrations.

The committee is concerned about the effect on children and young people of such displays and urges parents and education authorities to discourage the attendance at military performances of the young people in their charge.

The letter is signed on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union, the League of Nations Union, the Society of Friends' Peace Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Manchester and District Youth Peace Council, the Teachers' Peace Society, and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

Members write on

Work of the W.R.I.

The City group has been exercising its mind (or minds) as to whether all groups know about the work of the War Resisters' International, to which the PPU is affiliated.

In order that the efforts of the international movement may become more widely known, six members of the City group have offered to speak on this subject to any groups within reasonably easy access of London, and application for such speakers should be made to Miss Grace M. Beaton, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Now for a personal query. Do all groups see the quarterly War Resister? I am sure it would be a good step for PPU headquarters to send a copy to each group with the weekly notices, whenever the magazine is published. Meanwhile, however any group will be put on the mailing list if a post card is sent to Enfield.

SYDNEY LARCOMBE, Joint Secretary, City of London Group.
59 Auckland Road, S.E.19

Wireless Propaganda

I have just sent off a letter to the BBC protesting against the incessant war propaganda it is continually pouring out on the wireless and reminding them that "you cannot preserve peace by preparing for war."

May I suggest that as many members as possible write the BBC in a similar way, suggesting constructive alternatives, such as broadcasting *The Insect Play* or *Idiot's Delight*, and advising it to approach a notable speaker to explain in a broadcast talk the meaning and implications of the Van Zeeland Report.

CECIL H. COX.

37, Kingswood Chase,
Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.1

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| 3. Don't be misled by the word "DEFENCE" ... | 6 |
| 4. The Bomber will always get through | 2 |
| 5. You can't get Peace by preparing for WAR ... | 17 |
| 6. Pacifism, the practical alternative to War ... | 8 |
| 7. JOIN THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION | 19 |

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Dear Sir

DISHONOUR?

IN answer to our friend's query in his letter entitled "Dishonour" (PEACE NEWS, June 25) he can rest assured that he is not being disloyal to his pledge and would be very unwise to give up his job.

In any case, he would most probably be in a similar position elsewhere, as the majority of electrical firms are doing some rearmament work at least.

The acid and conclusive test in the above and similar circumstances is: Can the article in question be put to a useful purpose? If so, then the responsibility lies with the person who puts it to a useless purpose, and not with our friend for making it.

We cannot make guns or munitions, or parts of these, as, quite obviously, they cannot be used for any other purpose than that for which they were made.

HAROLD W. CLARKE.

355 Bromford Lane, Ward End, Birmingham, 8.

In the first place, I think there is no question of dishonour involved in "S's" position. Each signatory is supporting war to a greater or less extent ranging perhaps from the manufacture of aero-engines to the payment on 1lb. of tea.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the very simple terms of the pledge are not suitable for literal application, but the fact remains that the extent to which one should "support" war must be decided by the individual.

The problem to me, as a non-signatory pacifist, goes further than this. In my own circle of acquaintances there are several pacifists who for various reasons, such as might be felt by "S," are not members of the PPU, and I firmly believe that such people should be at any rate "on record" at headquarters, for they are potential supporters.

There was some discussion at the general meeting as to whether signatories should belong automatically to the union. To my mind a more important question is how many non-signatories wish to be affiliated to the Union.

I am glad that I have been called upon to work for the PPU and I hope to continue to be of service, but I wish that no stone would be left unturned in contacting all

pacifists, whether they desire to sign the pledge or not.

MAX WALKER.

"Green Pastures," Gomshall, Surrey.

I hope you will allow me space to comment on the letter from "S," and also on that of Mr. Phipps Jones, in your issue of June 25. They each raise an important question, the answers to which are linked together, and much harm is being done by careless thought on these questions.

Briefly, the questions are as follows: As pacifists, what should be our attitude to armaments? and, What should be our action when the Government uses large sums of our money for the making of armaments, especially when it takes the money directly through Income Tax?

Armaments are not the root cause of war, and any action directed against armaments alone tends to cloud more important issues. Pacifists should have nothing to do with disarmament. Their job lies far deeper. This is obvious when one realizes that a disarmament conference tacitly admits that war is a legitimate method of policy.

The same is true of such measures as the protest against the bombing aeroplane, or the use of poison gas. Pacifists need not take part in these protests. Such activities can be left to those who believe in warfare as a legitimate weapon. Any palliation of warfare tends to preserve it as a policy. Armaments exist by reason of a demand. Pacifists are busy removing this demand. Any further action is supererogatory.

For those pacifists who are engaged on the manufacture of armaments, may I make this suggestion? Feel around for another job because your present one is doomed when public opinion is sufficiently united.

To resign your job as a protest will do little good until there is a sufficiently large number of you to make the resignation an effective weapon; by which time the armaments manufacturer, who is no fool, will have seen the warning light and will be turning his capacities to some more productive enterprise.

The same argument applies in regard to Income Tax. The method of violence is unpleasant, and if we work properly, will probably be unnecessary. If the more peaceable, more constitutional ways fail, if we are not accorded fair scope for our activities, then such "strike" methods might conceivably become necessary.

Before we consider such methods, however, let us make full use of the two lines of activity which offer most hope for producing rapid and permanent results:

1. The activity of such organizations as the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which pursue a general propaganda for the changing of public opinion.
2. Political unity through support of the Christian Pacifist Party and the United World Party.

ROBERT HOPE.

Beaminstor, Dorset.
Secretary, The United World Party.

"REASONABLE PROFIT"

If "Chartered Accountant" is right, then every text book in arithmetic I have seen—some dozens; every teacher I have known—some scores; and every examination paper I have used—some hundreds, are wrong. For ordinary purposes, at any rate, profit is calculated on the cost price.

E. W. GODDEN.

22 Park Road, Fowey, Cornwall.

If a retailer pays 8s. 6d. for a cabinet and sells it for 12s. 6d., that is not a "profit" of four shillings. It may be a loss. It depends on how much it costs him to sell it.

Unfortunately, while production is highly organized and efficient, and goods can be produced cheaply, distribution is not, generally, at all efficient, and often costs as much as the factory cost of the article.

But that is nothing to do with pacifism, and if pacifists would leave such comparative non-essentials until they have abolished war, they could discuss economics, and perhaps even study them a little.

E. SYMES BOND.

"Bincombe," Thrapston, Kettering, Northants.

With reference to the gross profit on an ARP cabinet, surely the question of whether this amounts to 50 percent of the wholesale price, or 32 percent of the retail price is entirely beside the point.

What is relevant is the fact that the shopkeeper's gross profit must cover such insignificant items as rent and rates, assistants' wages, lighting and heating, bad debts, &c.—in short, the cost of providing the retail service.

Without this service, the ordinary member of the public would have to spend the whole of his waking hours buying the necessities of life in bulk from factories

and wholesalers scattered over the country—sugar by the ton, studs by the gross, and beer by the barrel.

In many trades, a gross profit of over 50 percent on the retail price does not protect the retailer from bankruptcy, involving the loss of his job and all his savings. And he does not have to submit to the dangerous inquiries of the Unemployment Assistance Board. If his friends cannot help him, he can obtain a special kind of money, known as Relief Tickets.

I am sorry this letter is so long, but as (I hope) a reasonably intelligent person, alive to many of the injustices and the inherent barbarism of capitalist economics, these superficial and generally fallacious criticisms fill me with a hopeless despair of ever seeing a really practicable form of socialism.

By the way, I am not a shopkeeper.
C. E. HARRINGTON.

40 Wellington Avenue, Chingford, E.A.
We nearly headed this correspondence "Outside Our Sphere," as it seems to give point to the subject raised under that heading by F. W. Bourke last week.—Ed.

INVITATION REFUSED

After repeated attempts to secure a speaker from the Research Defence Society, in accordance with the offer contained in a recent letter to PEACE NEWS, it was arranged that Sir Leonard Rogers, the treasurer of the society, should speak to the Ewell and Stoneleigh group of the Peace Pledge Union.

As soon as he heard that the group was to be addressed afterward by a representative of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection he refused to speak or to provide a deputy.

I wonder whether any other group has succeeded in persuading the Research Defence Society to expound its views for public criticism. The British Union sent a speaker who was anxious to meet all comers in a debate.

R. MCINTYRE SMITH.

93 Briarwood Road,
Stoneleigh, Epsom.

Politics

CAPTAIN MUMFORD's statements in his article on politics, of July 2, are a little puzzling. Quite rightly, he discriminates sharply between "preaching the gospel of pacifism" on the one hand, and "determining how the world should apply pacifism" on the other—a distinction all too often ignored.

But he then goes on to make the amazing statement that "the pacifist must resist the temptation to instruct the Government when he knows that his demands are impossible of fulfilment because it (sic) is against the opinions of the majority."

If I read this passage aright, it means that the pacifist must not formulate an alternative policy for the governing of the country at any given moment, until such time as he is certain that the majority of the electorate will unhesitatingly endorse his still unformulated policy.

That is to say, he must convince the electorate that he is an eligible person to carry on the government of the country on grounds other than those of political policy. He must ask the electorate to give him a perfectly free hand in the government of the country, merely because he is a pacifist, without committing himself to any specific political policy.

This is manifestly impracticable; on such a basis, the pacifist movement can never hope to obtain political power. All that can be expected is that the movement may become a body influencing, by pressure politics, whatever government may be in power, in order to restrict in some measure any anti-pacifist or militarist legislation it may contemplate, even though such legislation may be desired by the majority of the electorate.

I wonder how many pacifists are satisfied with such a definition of the ultimate aims of the pacifist movement?

PHILIP F. DYER.

York House, Theobald's Road, W.C.1.

MEUM OR TUUM?

Under the above heading, in the PEACE NEWS of June 18, Max Plowman reviews J. D. Beresford's book *What I Believe*. The credo of J.D.B. is said to be:

I have within me the potentialities of the omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent. I am not a part of God or member of his church, for God has neither parts nor members. If his centre is everywhere, I am that centre. Every other human being on this earth has the right to make a precisely similar claim.

Plowman says this statement leaves him cold. He prefers a God he can love and worship. This God must be objective, not himself. He sees this God in his neighbour. So Beresford says "I am God," Plowman says "my neighbour is God."

Is there really any difference between them? Beresford is right in claiming to be God in that he is a neighbour of Plowman. Also Plowman is a God in that he is a neighbour of Beresford.

How delightfully simple. How marvelously helpful!

I am prepared to follow both of them as pacifists, but neither of them as moralists.

Beresford, as a rationalist, has no right to use the word "belief." Reason and belief are words dealing with two different realms of experience. The mind doesn't need to believe when it understands. Faith's reach is longer than that of reason.

I question the advisability of pacifist leaders posing as moral authorities. Certainly there are moral and rational pacifists; up to a point they can work together. Beyond that they cannot. The religious person believes that the dynamic requisite to the creation of a peace world can alone come from God. The rationalist assumes that it can be achieved by reason.

Both cannot be right. Apparently this difficulty is being felt and efforts are being made to facilitate the cooperation of both in the PPU. Plowman seems to be the liaison officer in the matter. Personally I have no use for the God of either Beresford or Plowman.

I am not a God to myself, neither is my neighbour my God. My neighbour is my brother, co-equal with me in the love and grace of God the Father. I respectfully suggest that Beresford and Plowman stick to pacifism and keep out of the moral realm in which they have no authority.

E. FOSTER.

"Dundonald," 38 Melrose Avenue, Rutherglen, Glasgow.

Pacifism and the Class War

I ENTIRELY agree with Cecil Davies's views on "Pacifism and the Class War." Despite the fact that most PPU members are avowed socialists, there exists an appalling lack of concern about the class struggle. Only a minority are cognisant even of its existence, while only a very few seem to feel that its abolition is equally as important as the abolition of international warfare.

Some of us know why the masses of this country acquiesce in rearmament and adopt a cynical attitude toward political pacifism. It is because class warfare is an ever-present reality to them. It is because they consider that international warfare, at its worst, can never exceed the cruelties, the degradations, and the destructiveness (mental and moral) of the class war.

Are they not right?

I believe in propaganda "addressed primarily to the workers." The ordinary matter now issued has a very wide appeal, but it doesn't reach the mind of the ordinary unskilled or semi-skilled hand worker and his "missus."

The groups that go into training on the Gregg non-violent resistance and personal pacifist lines, during the coming months, will almost automatically come up against the problem of the class struggle. These groups will, I believe, attract many thoughtful workers, mostly round about the age of 30 years, if they seriously tackle the problem.

It is the heritage and privilege of the pacifist movement to issue the challenge, "Workers of the World, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains."

WILL HAYDEN.

76 Calabria Road, Highbury, N.5.

RIGHT AND WRONG

I should very much like to endorse Mr. Max Plowman's article in PEACE NEWS (June 25) where he so excellently expressed the point that pacifists must not assume that they know what is right, or else they will be led like other people to try and destroy what is wrong.

To be guided by abstract ideas is surely the greatest of dangers. Above all we must cure ourselves of the desire to "put things right"—the desire to make them accord with some preconceived theory.

This is the illusion of illusions. If everyone could be normal, as nature means them to be normal, then the affairs of the world would fall into harmony automatically. Whether the result would be labelled right or not, I don't know: but in fact it would be human.

The difficulty is, of course, that we have lost our direct intuitive sense of what is normal human nature. In the course of evolution man has had to pass from a subconscious to a more or less conscious plane, but he hasn't yet succeeded in developing a wholly rational consciousness.

Meanwhile, under the changing conditions of civilization the old instinctive guidance is inadequate. This is proved today as much by man's defective organism—defective physical control—as by his muddled political activities. He is, both in body and mind, "out of joint."

In these circumstances what earthly hope have we of putting things right, if in trying to do so we use (as we instinctively do use) the same faulty judgment which has already caused us to arrive at our present plight?

As Mr. Alexander has conclusively demonstrated in relation to muscular control, the more we try to do right, the more certain we are to do wrong. The only hope, therefore, is to break down our habits of mind and discard all preconceived "ideas" of right and wrong. Then, perhaps, by a laborious process of self-criticism, we may learn to know ourselves as we potentially are.

Fortunately in this task we have the example of others, living or dead, who have proved the possibility of entering into their heritage. If we go on being sub-human it is by choice or ignorance, not by necessity.

ROBERT CLIVE.

7 North Terrace, Alexander Square, S.W.3.

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POINTS for the PLATFORM

THE following figures relating to the military strength of the smaller European States were given in a recent issue of *Service d' Archives*, of Geneva:—

Armaments of the Small States

Country.	Population (in millions)	Regular Army	Annual number of recruits (in 1,000's)	Military planes	Military Budget in 1937	Increase percent since 1932
Switzerland ...	4.2	13,524 (with repetition course, 149,445)	20	200	4,800,000	16
Belgium ...	8.3	72,141 (war potential, 300,000)	44	210	6,560,000	40
Bulgaria ...	6.3	20,093	—	—	2,600,000	59
Denmark ...	3.7	11,300 (war potential, 100,000)	9	65	1,720,000	12
Estonia ...	1.1	11,120 (war potential, 110,000)	—	68	920,000	46
Finland ...	3.5	31,320 (incl. reserves, 360,000)	21	6 aeronautical bases	3,360,000	43
Greece ...	6.8	52,680 (war potential, 600,000)	—	119	4,960,000	78
Holland ...	8.6	21,426 (trained, approx. 400,000)	20	326	7,200,000	7
Latvia ...	2	25,750 (war potential, 180,000)	—	79	1,400,000	27
Lithuania ...	2.5	22,550 (war potential, 200,000)	—	74	2,240,000	74
Norway ...	2.9	14,200 (war potential, 190,000)	22	136	1,840,000	18
Portugal ...	7.3	26,294	23	110	4,560,000	25
Sweden ...	6.3	24,092	14	257	8,120,000	45
Hungary ...	9	35,026	—	?	4,760,000	3

DIARY OF THE WEEK

July

- 9 (Sat.) **EALING**; 3 p.m. Heatherton Grange Park; garden meeting; John Barclay; PPU. **CHINGFORD** Station; 3.30 p.m. meet for ramble to Epping (tea 1s. 3d.); all invited; Walthamstow and district PPU group. **TORQUAY**; 7 p.m. Town Hall; George Lansbury, Captain Philip Mumford, W. B. Curry, and Rev. W. J. F. Huxtable; PPU.
- 10 (Sun) **EXETER**; 3 p.m. Barnfield Hall; George Lansbury, Captain Philip Mumford, W. B. Curry, and Rev. W. J. F. Huxtable; PPU. **HAYES**; 3 p.m. Central Hall; Brotherhood meeting; Mr. Pitman on "The PPU Manifesto"; PPU. **HAYWARDS HEATH**; 8 p.m. "Perth," Luxford Road, Lindfield; R. S. Hitchcock on "Loves and Loyalties"; PPU. **OTLEY**; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Leeds PPU group. **THORNBURY**, Bristol; 7.30 p.m. Main Street; open-air meeting; Owen D. Brown, Cyril Steele, John Bamford, and E. Humphreys (chairman); PPU. **PLYMOUTH**; 8.15 p.m. Guildhall; George Lansbury, Philip S. Mumford, and Rev. Charles Dyer (chairman); PPU.
- 12 (Tues.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. E. Paul Sylvester on "Anglo-American Understanding"; Peace Committee of London Friends. **BLACKHEATH**; 8 p.m. All Saints' Parish Hall, Tranquil Vale; Dr. E. Conze on "The Psychology of War-Preparedness"; PPU. **LONDON, W.1**; 8 p.m. King's Weigh House, Thomas Street (opposite Selfridges); Edgar B. Castle on "Education and Peace"; PPU London Teachers' Group. **SWISS COTTAGE**; 8.15 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Avenue Road; Charles Madge on "Can Mass Observation help the PPU?"; PPU.
- 13 (Wed.) **PECKHAM**; 8 p.m. All Saints' Vicarage, Summer Road; S. Noel on "Hints on Public Speaking"; PPU. **KINGSWAY**; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship. **HANWELL**; 8.15 p.m. Committee Room, Public Library; Rev. R. H. Le Messurier on "Pacifism in Christianity"; PPU. **BAYSWATER**; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; film show, *Kameradschaft* and "shorts" of George Lansbury and Dick Sheppard; PPU.
- 14 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. R. E. Taylor on "Peace Movement in New Zealand"; City PPU group. **LONDON, E.C.4**; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; discussion with St. Dionis Club; City PPU group. **LONDON, N.W.1**; 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. Alex Wood; group meeting; PPU. **SUTTON**; 8.15 p.m. 51 Sherwood Park Road; speaker from Jewish People's Council on Anti-Semitism; PPU. **TIVERTON**; 1.15 p.m. outside Factory; caravan campaign; PPU. **WITHRIDGE**; 3 p.m. The Square; caravan campaign; PPU. **CHITTLEHAMPTON**; 7.30 p.m. The Square; caravan campaign; PPU.
- 15 (Fri.) **ILFRACOMBE**; 3 p.m. Market Square; caravan campaign; PPU. **WORTHING**; 6 p.m. Orchard House, High Street; Rev. James Barr; FoR. **GOLDERS GREEN**; 7.45 p.m. 45 North Way; Rev. A. Miller; PPU. **BRAUNTON**; 7.30 p.m. Recreation Ground; caravan campaign; PPU.

War's New Target

UP to March of this year, 10,709 children have been killed and 15,320 wounded on the Loyalist side in Spain since the war started, according to the Ministry of National Defence.

Not Unbeatable

MR. F. Handley Page, the aircraft manufacturer, has unwittingly showed the emptiness of Mr. Chamberlain's recent boast that the new types of bomber now on order "show such a marked advance on those which are now in service ... that I think it very unlikely their performance will be surpassed by the bombers of any other country."

Mr. Handley Page referred to the charge that a new British type of aeroplane was never so up to date as some corresponding foreign one and added:

These charges are true—only they are true of the aircraft industry of every country in the world.

"Peace Alliance" Impossible

AN alliance whose purpose does not comprise the intention to make war is senseless and worthless. Alliances are made only for fighting.

—Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.

Businesslike Trade Unions

DURING the last two months of 1937 and the first two months of 1938 (states *World Events*) Germany bought 700,000 tons of iron ore monthly from France which was used largely for armaments. In March the German orders were reduced to 70,000 tons.

Thereupon the trade unions of Meurthe-et-Moselle and certain great industrialists appealed to the French government for help in persuading the Germans to buy the original large tonnage.

(continued from col. 1.)

July

- 15 & 16 (Fri. and Sat.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; Friends House, Euston Road; conference on Peace and Empire; Sir Stafford Cripps and Jawaharlal Nehru (chairman); details from The India League, 165 Strand, W.C.1.
- 16 (Sat.) **BIDEFORD**; 3 p.m. The Quay; caravan campaign; PPU. **BRADWORTH**; 7.30 p.m. The Square; caravan campaign; PPU. **TAUNTON**; 2.30 p.m. French Weir Playing Fields; peace rally; George Lansbury, Dr. A. Salter, Rev. P. Hartill, and Laurence Housman (chairman); Wessex Pacifist Council. **TONBRIDGE**; 7 p.m. Angel Corner; open-air meeting; John Barclay and others; PPU.
- 16 and 17 (Sat. and Sun.) **MATLOCK BATH**; Derbyshire; "Cromford Court"; weekend school; PPU; details from Guy Metcalf, Main Road, Easton on the Hill, Stamford.
- 17 (Sun.) **EPSOM**; 3 p.m. Croft House, College Road; garden meeting to meet Mrs. Plowman, Max Plowman, and John Barclay; PPU. **OTLEY**; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Horsforth PPU group. **BRISTOL**; 8 p.m. St. Andrew's Park; open-air meeting; E. Humphreys, W. J. Parkin, Kenneth Greet, and Wilfred Harvey (chairman); PPU.

COMING SHORTLY

July

- 22 (Fri.) **LEICESTER**; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Mrs. Mary Powley (USA), Douglas Ashby (Germany), and Eric Swift (France) on "Pacifists Abroad"; Christian Pacifist Fellowship.

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EDUCATIONAL	SERVICES
<p>EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM and responsibility, Felcourt co-educational school, East Grinstead, Sussex.</p> <p>GERMAN PACIFIST, expert linguist, living in South Denmark near beautiful Flensburg Fjord, is willing to take students as boarders to learn German, Danish, Swedish, French or Italian. Very reasonable terms. Facilities for regular German and Danish conversational practice in district. For further particulars apply War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, or direct to Dr. Arnold Kalisch, "Fredshjem," Roenshoved pr. Rinkenæs, Denmark.</p> <p>ST. CHRISTOPHER SCHOOL, LETCHWORTH (recognized by the Board of Education). A thorough education for boys and girls to 19 years, at moderate fees in an open-air atmosphere of ordered freedom and progress. Headmaster: H. Lyn Harris, M.A., L.I.B. (Camb.).</p>	<p>AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.</p>
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A.R.P. Officer Resigns, Says Public is "Misguided"

From Our Own Correspondent

LATEST startling exposure of ARP inadequacy and hypocrisy comes from no less a person than Lieut.-Col. E. P. Cawston. ARP Officer until a few days ago for the vulnerable dockyard town of Chatham.

A little while ago Chatham took part in air raid exercises, which extended over the whole of the Nore Command Area. The public witnessed extensive practice activities carried out by ARP workers. They were asked to believe that these activities were evidence of an efficient scheme which would protect them in the event of war.

And now Chatham's ARP Officer has resigned.

Why?

PUBLIC MISGUIDED

The answer, in Lieut.-Col. Cawston's own words, is eloquent testimony of the futility of ARP measures.

Though my views (he wrote) on the dangers of basements under unstable buildings, and the wisdom of providing immediately accessible shelter entrenchments, have the fullest support of the Home Office, yet even at this date the recommendations of my interim report of May 20 have not been considered by the Council, nor by the Advisory Committee.

It is admitted by all who have given the matter practical consideration that high explosives and incendiary shells would be used in a hostile air raid, and that, in the case of towns such as Chatham, gas would be a most unlikely factor.

Yet the public is lulled into a sense of misguided complacency by the promise of a distribution of gas-masks giving 75 percent protection against gas, but no protection against high explosive and incendiary bombs.

The explanation, of course, is that Lieut.-Col. Cawston told Chatham Council that the cost of "giving as complete protection as possible under the scheme" would be £10,000.

And Chatham, although it is the first and one of the most vulnerable centres that would attract attacking aircraft, does not want to spend £10,000 on preparing for an eventuality which, it firmly and rightly believes, need never become an actuality.

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BOMBING OF CIVILIANS IS NOT A NEW IDEA

Britain Did It—But "Only In Retaliation"

SIR H. RICHMOND, in a letter to *The Times* last week, gave the following cases of indiscriminate bombardment of ports in the past:

In King William's war British and Dutch vessels bombarded Granville, Dieppe, Havre, St. Malo, and Dunkirk. Of these, the last three were privateer bases; but even two and a half centuries ago the Admiral—Berkeley—who conducted the operation regarded it with dislike, and the practice was considered inhuman and justifiable only because the French had done the same thing previously, bombarding Genoa before war was declared. (Burnet, *History of his own time*—II, p. 131.)

The forts and town of Odessa were bombarded in May, 1854, by the allied Anglo-French fleet, but only in retaliation for an attack made upon a boat sent for the consuls; and though the whole Black Sea coast lay open to the fleets throughout the war, no bombardments took place. A suggestion in April, 1855, that the fleets should bombard Odessa to bring pressure on Russia was rejected by Napoleon III. The war, he said, must be carried on according to the "civilized ideas of 1855." (Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*—II, 17.)

"Civilized ideas" similarly were still alive in Italy in 1915. Austrian flotillas and aircraft bombarded Italian coastal towns in the Adriatic. I was then serving in the Italian fleet and I observed the universal condemnation of my many Italian friends in the fleet at this breach of the law of nations—a condemnation not confined to episodes in which their country was the sufferer but to the many extensions of brutality which took place both at sea and on land. The correspondent of the *Messaggero* of today who asserts that "humane warfare is a contradiction

in terms" (*The Times*, June 27) would have found little support in the navy of Italy of that day.

CANNOT BE HUMANIZED

Sir Arnold Wilson gave further particulars in a subsequent letter, in which he wrote:

Letters from Flushing, by an officer eye-witness (1810), describe in detail the bombardment by the Royal Navy in August, 1809, of the commercial seaport of Campveer, which was reduced to

a smoking pile of bricks. The bodies of women and children lay in the streets. We were received with a howl of distress which spoke very forcibly to the heart. . . . a space equal to St. James's Park, covered with wounded and dying men expiring in the most horrible agony.

The bombardment of Flushing followed, viewed by the Earl of Chatham from Middleburg. (We had offered access to a safety zone for the women and children, but it was refused.)

The effect was prodigious and beyond all imagination. . . . Churches took fire, houses fell in: there was such smoke that guns were aimed at random.

Destructive fire brought down the houses in masses. Congreve's rockets blazed in horrible splendour. . . . in firing a town they cannot be equalled, and if it be a part of our established system of warfare to destroy as well as to take, this invention is certainly entitled to praise. . . . but they are more destructive than efficacious in compelling surrender. Should they pass into common use they would add to the mischief of war without shortening its duration.

The following month a naval expedition from Bombay to the Persian Gulf against Jawasmi pirates and Wanabis bombarded and burned half a score of commercial ports with all the shipping therein. The operation was repeated in 1819 and was justified by its results.

Sir Arnold concluded his letter with:

The golden age of warfare recedes on close inquiry into a dim past. I doubt whether hostilities have ever been or can be effectively humanized by any laws of war.

NORTH & SOUTH RHODESIA

How Amalgamation Would Affect Natives

The Bledisloe Royal Commission has been sent out to Rhodesia following the demands of Southern Rhodesia for amalgamation with Northern Rhodesia, and in an article in the *Manchester Guardian* last week Sir John Harris discussed this issue chiefly from the point of view of its effect upon the native population.

"The African," he said, "is asking simply for the rights and privileges of a man."

The first blow to the native's belief that he would get equality was struck in 1913 when the principle of segregation was commenced in South Africa. Now, said Sir John Harris, the principle of segregation of all activities of his life threatens the African up to the Equator.

The combined population of Northern and Southern Rhodesia is more than 2,500,000. White settlers number only 60,000 and do not seem to be increasing.

Many settlers want amalgamation and Dominion status for the two territories. This, however, would put government in the hands of the settlers. Southern Rhodesian settlers, however, do not expect Dominion status yet.

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

The Southern Rhodesian Government's native policy, still in embryo, is based on land segregation, and in the areas allocated to natives no white man will be allowed to compete with native farmers or industrialists.

The natives possess, in law, the franchise, though only 43 have reached the electoral roll. Another safeguard from their point of view is that, "under the Churchill Constitution, all purely racial legislation is reserved for the final sanction of the Crown."

Sir John Harris added that the brightest feature in Rhodesia was to be found in the steady adherence of a strong body of public opinion to the doctrine of Rhodes, "Equal rights for all civilized men."

"Included in this body of opinion," he said, "is Mr. Huggins, the Prime Minister, and the devoted men of the Native Affairs Department. Happily, too, these official quarters are supported by most of the big business men of Southern Rhodesia."

Shocking Conditions of Indians in S. Africa

THE following report on conditions of Indian workers on sugar cane estates in Natal has been issued by the National Executive Committee of the South African Trades and Labour Council.

HOUSING

It has been proved that the housing on certain sugar estates is deplorable—a fact which is borne out by photographs taken on the spot. The rooms occupied are shockingly overcrowded; large holes in roofs and walls; no windows; most structures are made of corrugated iron, which is mostly corroded.

SANITATION

Sanitary conditions are appalling. On one estate there was no water laid on, and the people have to obtain water from a well constructed by themselves at a distance of approximately 200 yards away in the valley. All water for cooking, cleaning, ablution and for washing clothes is taken from this well.

On making inquiries it was learned that the Indian women took their clothes down to the well to wash them. This well was not in any way protected and therefore in the rainy seasons all the accumulated filth round it must be washed into it. There was no resemblance of sanitation attached to this block of shacks and the whole position . . . is too filthy and deplorable to be described in writing.

CHILD LABOUR

Juveniles commence work from the age of about 12 years at a commencing salary of 5s. per month, without any systematic increase of wages due to length of service. As there is no compulsory education, attendance at schools is irregular and very small.

On one estate there are 300 children of school-going age, of whom no less than 100 attend intermittently. In any case the school building is little more than ramshackle. Owing to the pittance paid to adults, children are forced to augment the family's income.

ADULT WORKERS

Field Workers: Work available for these workers varies from 3 to 9 months per year. During the crushing season (approximately 6 months) mill workers work either from 6 a.m. till 6 p.m. or from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. without definite breaks for meals, the latter being consumed during working hours. The average wage comes to £2 per month.

The report was drawn up by a special sub-committee of the trades and labour council's executive.

News of Note this Week

PROGRESS AND REACTION IN FRANCE

Among the more progressive of a batch of 120 decrees issued in France last week were those abolishing the deportation of convicts; providing effective protection of the beauty of France against disfiguring advertisements; and providing for improved exploitation of hydro-electric resources.

On the other hand, one of the decrees

White "Prestige" in Abyssinia

PEOPLE of the white races are forbidden, under an order reported from Addis Ababa, to frequent native eating and drinking booths in Abyssinia unless the booths have been specially licensed.

The purpose of this edict is said to be "to maintain the prestige of the white races."

testified to the increasing militarization of the nation by introducing the death sentence for espionage.

ATTLEE CONDEMNS ARMS

It is not left to Mr. Chamberlain alone to condemn the folly of piling up armaments. Mr. C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, said at Taunton on Saturday: "The more you pile up armaments the more unsafe the world becomes."

He declared the causes of world disorder to be largely economic.

GERMAN SUPPORTS PEACE PLEA

Lord Southwood's appeal, at the fourth International Advertising Convention last week, for peaceful cooperation among the nations, was supported by Herr Ernst Reichard, of Berlin. Thanking Lord Southwood for his appeal, Herr Reichard said it was one to which he subscribed with all his heart.

A resolution supporting Lord Southwood's plea was adopted by the convention.

Refugee Conference Opens

A conference on refugees from Germany and Austria opened in Evian, France on Wednesday, and was expected to last about ten days.

About thirty countries are represented including Britain, France, and the U.S.A., which suggested the conference.

Relationship between the conference itself and the voluntary bodies dealing with refugees, will be one of the matters for consideration. It will have to distinguish between refugees who held high medical or scientific posts before their exile and those who, being less qualified, are harder to place.

Although these voluntary bodies will have no right to direct representation at the conference, they will have observers. One of the British delegation's proposals is to seek their cooperation.

Among other questions which are likely to be raised is the plan of the voluntary organizations, which are trying to provide facilities for the training of young refugees, with a view to their ultimate migration to younger countries, especially the Dominions. There is also a scheme for the transference of a few hundred families to one of the African colonies. This is understood to be the principal reason for the presence at Evian of Sir John Shuckburgh, of the British Colonial Office.

How Teachers Can Build Peace

From Our Own Correspondent

Erith Education Committee and Erith Teachers' Association jointly arranged a terminal lecture on June 24 for all teachers in the area. Professor Olive Wheeler, Professor of Education at University College, Cardiff, spoke on "Education for Peace."

Professor Wheeler dealt with what she believed to be the psychological basis of war hysteria—an unconscious fear or aggressive tendency—both of these being manifestations of the same primitive impulse.

It was necessary, she said, in our education, to remove causes for fear and to encourage cooperative tendencies in children. In this way, unconsciously, they were prepared for cooperation rather than rivalry in their social relationships. This could be true also of international affairs.

Professor Wheeler described the investigation of Professor Piaget at Geneva, which showed how in normal children under suitable conditions, a discipline of constraint naturally developed at about 11 years of age into one based upon consent and cooperation.

This discovery had obviously a most important bearing upon questions of methods and aims in discipline.

QUAKER WAY TO PEACE

Last Saturday a public meeting was held at the Friends' Meeting House, Leicester, under the auspices of the Society of Friends Midland Peace Committee. Helen Byles Ford, of Bentham, Yorks, spoke on "The Quaker Way to Peace."

William E. Minty, who was in the chair, said that some of those in the peace movement might be tempted to "go into the wilderness" when they met indifference from countless folk. But they could, and should, do better than that. They could learn of, and enter into the way of peace "that takes away the occasion of all wars."

Helen Byles Ford said that the peace testimony of the Society of Friends would start from the basis that war is wrong. The end never justifies the means. From that it would go further and say, that as man is essentially a spiritual being, the soul cannot expand in an atmosphere of antagonism and evil. Hence their task was to help recreate the spirit of good will in the world.

Quakers tried to make their "Way to Peace" as practical as possible. They believed it to be their duty to encourage the growth of "the seed of God in every man." In doing this, through their rational life and their personal life, they believed they were helping the world to peace.

INTEREST IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The Cambridge University branch of the FoR ran a campaign recently in the town of March, where a small PPU group needed help. Some eight campaigners arrived in March on a Saturday night, and addressed an attentive crowd for an hour and a half. Great interest was shown in the literature, and many copies of the manifesto were taken.

Public interest was such that a crowd, which gathered round a PEACE NEWS seller in the midst of an argument, had to be moved on by the police.

On the Sunday, churches, Bible classes and Sunday Schools gave campaigners opportunities of addressing interested gatherings, and people were found to be unexpectedly sympathetic.

Spain

GERMAN REPLY TO TRUCE SUGGESTION

Consequences of a Franco Victory

A GERMAN view of the Spanish war was contained in a leading article in the newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* on June 26. This referred in the following terms to the "numerous difficulties" still in the way of the solution of the volunteer problem:

Above all the consent of the governments in Barcelona and Burgos must be received before the Commission can travel into Nationalist and Red districts and work out their plans. This process alone will take 46 days, and only then can the Commission's report be sent to London.

In short, even in the most favourable circumstances, the withdrawal cannot begin before autumn.

"DEFEAT, NOT ARMISTICE"

The article went on to deal with the proposal for a truce in Spain:

In view also of the fact that the Red Negrin Government is certainly not ready to deal honestly, we cannot understand how England can put forward, just at this time, the idea of an armistice.

General Franco has declared innumerable times that absolute defeat, not an armistice, was his aim, a point of view which can easily be understood when taking into account the true position of the war, and the notorious falsehood and unreliability of the Bolshevik rulers. Negrin and Miaja would only use an armistice to rebuild their broken lines and to get new war material from their foreign friends.

We are convinced that the British Government and probably also the French Premier, Daladier, are honestly trying to end the civil war. Chamberlain sees in this open wound in the body of Europe one of the chief obstacles to his policy of reconciliation.

But, on the other hand, there are, not only in France but also in England, even among the Premier's most intimate friends, influential circles which have no desire to see Franco win.

"AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT NECESSARY"

These circles look to a "weak Spain" as the most desirable "solution."

But Franco's aim is to bring back the country to the status of a Power which will have respect and weight in the councils of Europe. It is obvious that a new strong Spain, which must necessarily have an authoritarian government, would be an uncomfortable neighbour for Powers whose interests lie near the Peninsula.

Hence the repeated attempts to end the civil war by some compromise which would put Franco's and Spain's power in pseudo-democratic bonds.

Paris is all the more enthusiastic for this weak solution because it sees in a strong Spain a dangerous threat to its already threatened maritime communications with its reserves of manpower in North Africa.

But one has only to think of Gibraltar to see that England, too, has quite comprehensible interests, even if there are many in London convinced that the friendship of a strong Spain can be bought by financial support.

PEACE NEWS

July 9, 1938

Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

the British Government are likely to agree, namely, that open ports are legitimate military objectives for aircraft attack.

Non-Intervention

THE chief purpose of the Non-Intervention Committee has never been to prevent intervention in the Spanish civil war but to prevent international complications arising out of the intervention.

Now that both Italy and Britain are anxious to ratify their agreement, which they can only do when the Spanish struggle is "settled," a real effort at non-intervention is to be attempted.

A British scheme, submitted over a year ago, aiming at the withdrawal of foreigners from the fighting forces on either side, has now been accepted in a modified form by the 27 Powers represented on the committee. The scheme now has to receive the approval of the two sides in the Spanish war.

If this is given, a systematic and proportionate withdrawal of the foreign troops will be undertaken after their exact numbers have been established. There is still a possibility that, in the process of counting the foreigners, a truce can be arranged which may lead to a permanent ending of hostilities.

The Evian Conference

TENS of thousands of humble people all over Europe will now be looking to Evian as their one great and immediate hope. The conference, called on American initiative, is meeting there to deal mainly with the refugee problem arising out of the Austrian annexation, though the wider issues will also have to be considered.

There is not only the problem of the actual refugee, but there is the equally pressing problem of the potential refugee who is still living at home but is anxious to leave.

The immensity of the problem can be gauged from the fact that in the German Reich 600,000 Jews lived in Germany in 1933, of whom only 115,000 have managed to get away in the last five years. In Austria there were 200,000 Jews last February, and these will have to be added to the total of the Reich.

The fundamental difficulty is one of finance, as, owing to the currency restrictions, very little property can be transferred abroad and no country is willing to add to its pauper problem.

The voluntary bodies have resources which are so restricted that they can cope only with a minute fraction of this mass of human misery.

May we hope that the Evian Conference may lead to Governments recognizing that their assistance is essential if the refugee problem is to be solved in any adequate way?

Anglo-Turkish Armament Agreement

OF the three agreements reached with Turkey last May the armament agreement is the most significant. It requires special legislation to become effective.

Under it the British Government agreed to advance by way of loans, not exceeding £6,000,000, as much as might be payable by the Turkish Government under contracts concluded by that government for the purchase in Great Britain of war materials.

The Parliamentary Labour Party, evidently deeply divided, agreed not to oppose this contribution to power politics in the Mediterranean.

Though it is quite clearly understood that arms for Turkey mean a balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean, the official Labour view is that Turkey has been a loyal member of the League of Nations and, in the words of Mr. Dalton, "if collective security was to be built up again, we would need a well-armed friendly Turkey loyal to her obligations as a member of the League."

How the armament manufacturers must bless collective security.

ANGLO-GERMAN DEBT AGREEMENT

THE conclusion of the Anglo-German Debt Agreement may prove to be a turning-point in the relations between the two countries. In any case it has avoided the outbreak of an economic war which threatened at one time.

If the brutal method used in the Austrian annexation had been followed by the repudiation of Austrian debts, war-mongering would become inevitable. As it is, the occasion was used, not only to settle Austrian debts and trade, but to come to

new arrangements over other long-term debts, some of which, like the Dawes Loan, carried the monstrous interest rate of seven percent.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer foreshadowed further commercial negotiations for the improvement of the trade between the two countries.

PALESTINE

THE execution of a young Jew under the military code seems to have had a serious effect upon racial conditions in Palestine.

The Jews have so far shown considerable restraint in face of Arab provocation. This restraint appears to have now broken down and the Jews seem to be attacking Arabs no less than Arabs have attacked Jews in the past.

The enforcement of the ordinance which imposes the death penalty merely for the possession of arms, far from pacifying the country, appears to have made conditions infinitely worse.

UNEMPLOYMENT

THE latest figures for unemployment show that there are now 500,000 more unemployed than a year ago, making a total today of 1,802,912. In the last month there has been an increase of 24,107, when normally there should have been a substantial decrease.

There can be no minimizing the seriousness of these figures. We shall enter the winter months with over 2,000,000 unemployed, despite an enormous armament programme and recruiting drive.

Politically, we ignore the problem and are instead mesmerized by factors in power politics arising from a fear of fascist dangers. The real danger comes from this social problem and for that we have literally no suggestion either from the Conservative or Labour side.

Unemployment is the Achilles heel of democracy against which guns and planes are no defence. Contrast our half-a-million unemployment increase in the last year with the half-million labour shortage in Germany, as reported by the Reich Credit Gesselschaft. It would be a profound mistake for us to assume that this labour shortage is due solely to German rearmament. Dictatorship in Germany has tackled the problem of unemployment; our democracy has left it to drift.

The Science of Economic Logic

IN his speech at Kettering, the Prime Minister proved to his own satisfaction and, presumably, to that of his Conservative audience as well, that utter ruin and starvation would await the people of this country if they grew all their own food.

These are his words:

Now what would happen if we were to grow all the food we need at home? . . . The first thing would be that we should ruin those Empire and foreign countries who are dependent on our markets.

And the next thing would be, of course, that as their purchasing power had been destroyed, those markets would no longer be able to buy our manufactures from us. Up, therefore, go our unemployment figures and the unemployed in turn would have to reduce their purchases of the farmer's products. And so in the end the final sufferer would be the farmer himself.

The Prime Minister presents us with the conundrum of our age—the conundrum which is at the bottom of the unemployment problem and the problem of war and peace.

Modern science applied to agriculture can make this country completely self-supporting in foodstuffs. But if we make ourselves independent, we starve. That is the reason why vast national and international restriction schemes have to be applied by government and private agreements.

At the same time we have literally hundreds of millions of human beings living in dire want and poverty because they lack the goods which we have destroyed.

Solve this conundrum of plenty and poverty and the main problem of peace is solved with it.

A.R.P.—Service for Peace

LAST week *The Times* told us that RAF and ARP "were complimentary branches of the same service." This week Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd informs us that those working in the ARP movement "feel that in a completely unaggressive way they are engaged in reducing the risk of war, and that the motto of their work might properly be 'Service for Peace.'"

This is not unlike the school boy who translated *Pax in bello* as "freedom from indigestion."

THIS is how a Hornsey member of the Peace Pledge Union has been advertising PEACE NEWS. He has gone to the trouble of having holes drilled in the roof of his car so that the brackets holding the message are a permanent fixture. Since this picture was taken the slogan has had to be altered to comply with regulations covering such advertising.



COOPERATORS' PAGEANT WITH A MORAL

From Our Own Correspondent

I ESTIMATE that between 60,000 and 70,000 people visited the Wembley Stadium on Saturday to celebrate the International Cooperative Day.

They did so with a pageant entitled "Toward Tomorrow," the theme of which was undoubtedly "Cooperation leads to World Peace." The pageant aptly described the rise of the cooperative movement from its inception in the dark days of 1844.

What a pity the leaders of all the nations of the world were not there to witness the final episode when performers, representing every nation in the world (with the exception of German and Italy), marched into the arena. With their respective flags on the platform they made an impressive circle, and, towering above them all, were two figures representing peace and democracy with the rainbow flag of cooperation in the centre.

But why did those who represented Spain have to carry firearms in this grand finale? They were the only ones who did; it was a pity.

SHREWBURY'S BEST MEETING EVER

From Our Own Correspondent

Never before has a peace meeting been greeted with such enthusiasm in Shrewsbury as that organized by the local Peace Fellowship last week. The hall was packed and many people who could not get inside crowded the doors, and listened through the windows.

The meeting was addressed by Miss Vera Brittain, who spoke on "Peace or War; what can we do?" She traced her own development from blind acceptance of the righteousness of the War in 1914, to her present pacifist belief.

Through her own tragic experiences as a nurse from 1914 to 1918, during which time she nursed German prisoners as well as Englishmen, she learned the folly and futility of war.

Miss Brittain appealed to all men and women to unite in refusing to take part in war, and so give effect to the common humanity of all races, and break the vicious circle in which armaments beget fear and fear begets more armaments.

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Niemöller Now One Year in Prison German Pastors Not Alone In Opposition

JUST after the anniversary, last Friday, of Pastor Niemöller's imprisonment in Germany, the possibility was foreshadowed of stronger pressure being put on those German pastors who have refused to take the oath demanded by the German-Christian Church authorities.

Approximately 2,000 pastors have taken this step, which has in many instances been followed by dismissal and other serious consequences.

Nor are the pastors the only people to be opponents of an official decree. Orders were issued last week under the recent decree making all able-bodied Germans liable to labour conscription.

Reporting that the Government would not hesitate to move workers "from one part of the Reich to another, a procedure which will not be popular if carried out on a large scale," *The Times* on Saturday revealed that "the decree has already been criticized by some of those likely to be affected by it."

SUFFERING NEED NOT MEAN DEFEAT

Services of intercession for Dr. Niemöller took place on Friday in several Berlin churches and in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London.

At one Berlin service, attended by 2,000 people, a statement by the Confessional Synod was read declaring that the Church must not allow itself to be prevented by fear from preaching the Gospel.

At the service in London the Bishop of Chichester referred to Dr. Niemöller as "God's minister in prison," and added:

There are great turning points in the history of the Church when similar violent collisions [between the kingdom of evil and the kingdom of God] occur and lead to great spiritual and physical suffering. The resultant tribulation may be so great as to look like defeat, but it is not defeat. Resurrection follows.

THE BEST WAY TO OVERCOME Warfare, Crime, Cruelty is to teach people the value and meaning of Kindness, Kinship and Fairplay. Please write for literature and journals concerning Humane Education in Schools and Homes. THE HUMANE EDUCATION SOCIETY, 80 MOSLEY STREET, MANCHESTER, 2

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